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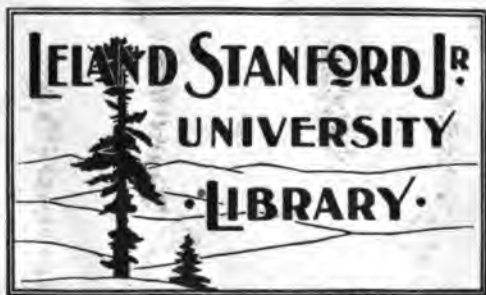
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ROYAL  
COLONIAL INSTITUTE



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



PRESENTED BY THOMAS WELTON STANFORD.

ANGUS & ROBERTSON  
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BETWEEN KING & MARK STS.





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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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VOLUME THE ELEVENTH.

1879-80.

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London :

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON,  
CROWN BUILDINGS, 188, FLEET STREET.

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1880.

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FREDERICK YOUNG,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,  
15, Strand, W.O.,  
July, 1880.



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# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

15, STRAND, LONDON.

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ESTABLISHED 1868.

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MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

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## OBJECTS.

"To provide a place of meeting for all Gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character." (Rule I.)

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Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

*Hon. Sec.*

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# LIST OF FELLOWS.

(Those marked \* are Honorary Fellows.)

(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

Year of  
Election.

## RESIDENT FELLOWS.

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1878 | ABDUR-RAHMAN, MOULVIE SYUD (Inner Temple), 5, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.                         |
| 1872 | ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.   |
| 1875 | ACTON, ROGER.  |
| 1877 | A'DEANE, JOHN, 7, Cambridge Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.   |
| 1874 | ADDERLEY, AUGUSTUS J., 46, Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.                                   |
| 1879 | AITKEN, ALEXANDER M., 8, Temple Gardens, E.C.  |
| 1868 | †AIRLIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., 86, Chesham Place, S.W., and Brookes' Club, S.W.    |
| 1879 | AITCHISON, DAVID, 5, Pembridge Square, Bayswater, W.   |
| 1872 | ALCOCK, COLONEL T. ST. L., 22, Somerset Street, Portman Square, W.                             |
| 1878 | ALEXANDER, JAMES, jun., 14, Astwood Road, South Kensington, S.W.                               |
| 1877 | ALEXANDER, JOHN CASSELS, 49, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.                                 |
| 1869 | ALLEN, CHARLES H., 1, West Hill, Highgate, N.  |
| 1880 | ALLPORT, W. M., Coombe Lodge, Camberwell, S.E.   |
| 1879 | ANDERSON, A. W., Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.   |
| 1875 | †ANDERSON, EDWARD R., care of Messrs. Cargill, Joachim & Co., 1, Great Winchester Street, E.C. |
| 1875 | ANDERSON, W. J., 84, Westbourne Terrace, W.  |
| 1874 | ANDERSON, WILLIAM MATHER, Oriental Bank, 40, Threadneedle Street, E.C.                         |
| 1876 | ANNAND, WILLIAM, Government Agent for Canada, 31, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.                  |
| 1878 | ARBUTHNOT, LIEUT.-COLONEL G., R.A., 5, Belgrave Place, S.W., and Carlton Club, S.W.            |
| 1868 | ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.                |
| 1878 | ARNITAGE, FRANK L., University College, Oxford.  |



Year of  
Election.

- 1873 ARMYTAGE, GEORGE, 4, St. Andrew's Square, Surbiton, Surrey.  
 1876 ARNEY, SIR GEORGE A., Hanover Square Club, W.  
 1874 ASHLEY, HON. EVELYN, M.P., 61, Cadogan Place, S.W., and 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
- 25 1879 ASHWOOD, JOHN, care of Messrs. Cox & Co., Craig's Court, Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1874 ATKINSON, CHARLES E., Algoa Lodge, Beckenham, Kent.  
 1879 ATTLEE, HENRY, 10, Billiter Square, E.C.
- 1879 BADEN-POWELL, GEORGE F., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., 8, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, S.W.  
 1880 BADCOCK, PHILIP, 4, Aldridge Road, Bayswater, W.
- 30 1880 BAILLIE, THOMAS, The Australian Land and Mortgage Company, 128, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.  
 1878 BALFOUR, JOHN, 18, Queen's Gate Place, S.W.  
 1878 BANNER, EDWARD G., 11, Billiter Square, E.C.  
 1880 BARCLAY, COLVILLE A. D., C.M.G., 94, Avenue Montaigne, Paris.  
 1874 BARCLAY, SIR DAVID W., Bt., 42, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
- 35 1877 BARKLY, SIR HENRY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., 1, Bina Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1868 BARR, E.G., 76, Holland Park, Kensington, W.  
 1879 BEALEY, SAMUEL, 7, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill, W.  
 1879 BEAUMONT, JOSEPH, 2, Terrace House, Richmond, S.W.  
 1870 BEDINGFELD, FELIX, C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 40 1876 BEETON, H. C., 2, Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.  
 1879 BELL, D. W., 20, London Wall, E.C.  
 1878 BELL, JOHN, 5, East India Avenue, E.C.  
 1878 BELL, ROBERT BRUCE, C.E., 1, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and 208, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.  
 1878 BELL, WM. MOORE, 25, Sackville Street, W., and Bolton Hall, near Wigton, Cumberland.
- 1874 BENJAMIN, LOUIS ALFRED, 89, Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W.  
 1868 BENNETT, C. F., 55, Queen's Square, Bristol.  
 1868 BIRCH, A. N., C.M.G., Bank of England, Burlington Gardens, W.  
 1878 BISCHOFF, CHARLES, 28, Westbourne Square, W.  
 1868 BLACHFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G.; Athenæum Club, S.W.; and Blachford, Ivybridge, Devon.
- 30 1880 BLACKWOOD, RICHARD, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.  
 1868 BLAINE, D. P., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1868 BLAINE, HENRY, 11, Gledhow Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1877 BLYTH, SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

Year of Election.	
1878	BONWICK, JAMES, 2, Balmoral Terrace, Mill Hill Park, Acton, W.
55 1878	BOOKER, JOSIAS, Wessington Court, Ledbury.
1872	BOURNE, C. W., Eagle House, Eltham, S.E.
1878	BOURNE, STEPHEN, F.S.S., Statistical Department, Her Majesty's Customs, Thames Street, E.C., and Wallington, Surrey.
1868	BOUTCHER, EMANUEL, 12, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
1878	BOWLES, THOMAS GIBSON, Cleeve Lodge, Kensington, S.W.
60 1869	BRAND, WILLIAM, 109, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1878	BRASSET, THOMAS, M.P., 24, Park Lane, W.
1879	BRAVO, JOSEPH, 2, Palace Green, Kensington, W., and 8 & 4, Great Winchester Buildings, E.C.
1869	BRIGGS, THOMAS, Homestead, Richmond, Surrey.
1869	BROAD, CHARLES HENRY, Castle View, Weybridge, Surrey.
65 1874	BROGDEN, JAMES, Seabank House, Portcawl, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire.
1880	BROOKS, HENRY, Grove House, 40, Highbury Grove, N.
1879	†BROOKS, HERBERT, 9, Hyde Park Square, W., and St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.
1869	BROWN, J. B., F.R.G.S., 90, Cannon Street, E.C., & Bromley, Kent.
1880	BROWNE, LENNOX, F.R.C.S.E., 86, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W.
70 1876	BROWNE, COLONEL SIR T. GORE, K.C.M.G., C.B., 7, Kensington Square, W.
1879	BROWNE, W. J., St. Stephen's House, 74, Gloucester Road, S.W.
1877	BROWNING, S. B., 88, Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, W.
1876	BRUCE, J., care of Messrs. Davis and Soper, 10, Kings' Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, E.C.
1876	BUCHANAN, A. B., 48, Thurloe Square, S.W.
75 1868	BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, G.C.S.I. (Governor of Madras).
1878	BUGLE, MICHAEL, Kaieteur, Hollington Park, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.
1871	BURGESS, EDWARD J., 82, Great St. Helens, E.C.
1872	BURTON, W. H., Auldana Vineyard Office, Mill St., Hanover Sq., W.
1863	BURY, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, K.C.M.G., 65, Prince's Gate, S.W.
80 1875	BUTTERWORTH, ROBERT L., 70, Basinghall Street, E.C.
1878	BUXTON, SIR T. FOWELL, BART., 14, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
1880	CAIRD, R. HENRYSON, 6, Petersham Terrace, S. Kensington, S.W.
1874	CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, A. R., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., 84, St. George's Square, S.W., and Athenæum Club, S.W.
1880	CAMPBELL, FINLAY, 125, Queen's Gate, S.W.
85 1869	CAMPBELL, ROBERT, Union Bank of Australasia, Princes Street, E.C., and Buscot Park, Berkshire.

Year of  
Election.

- 1868 CARDWELL, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, 74, Eaton Square, S.W.  
 1877 CARGILL, EDWARD BOWES, 1, Great Winchester Street, E.C.  
 1880 CARGILL, W. W., Lancaster Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.  
 1879 CARLETON, HUGH, 2, The Terrace, Church Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 90 1868 †CARLINGFORD, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, 7, Carlton Gardens, S.W.  
 1868 CARNARVON, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Bruton Street, Berkeley Square, W.  
 1875 CARPENTER, MAJOR C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1876 CARVILL, P. G., J.P., Benvenue, Rosstrevor, Co. Down; 28, Park Crescent; and Reform Club, S.W.  
 1879 CHAMBERS, SIR GEORGE H., 4, Mincing Lane, E.C.  
 95 1877 CHAMPION, CAPTAIN P. R., R.M.L.I., Royal Marine Barracks, Chatham.  
 1880 CHATTERTON, BOHIN.  
 1872 CHESSON, F. W., 172, Lambeth Road, S.E.  
 1880 CHEVALIER, N., 5, Porchester Terrace, W.  
 1879 CHADWICK, OSBERT, C.E., Park Cottage, East Sheen, Mortlake, S.W.  
 100 1868 CHILDERS, THE RIGHT HON. HUGH, C.E., M.P., 17, Prince's Gardens, S.W.  
 1878 CHOWN, T. C., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1868 CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. THE PRINCE, K.G., Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.  
 1869 CHURCHILL, LORD ALFRED SPENCER, 16, Rutland Gate, S.W.  
 1872 CLARK, CHARLES, 20, Belmont Park, Lee, Kent.  
 105 1875 †CLARKE, HYDE, D.C.L., 32, St. George's Square, S.W.  
 1880 CLAYDEN, ARTHUR, 13, Tavistock Square, W.C.  
 1877 CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E. (Messrs. Robey & Co.), Lincoln.  
 1868 CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES, Hatherton Hall, Cannock, Staffordshire.  
 1874 CLOETE, WOODBINE, 3, Clement's Lane, E.C., and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.  
 110 1879 COCKS, REGINALD T., 29, Stanhope Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.  
 1879 CODY, BRYAN A.  
 1879 COGDON, JOHN, 18, Westgate Terrace, S.W.  
 1872 COLOMB, CAPTAIN J.C.R., R.M.A., Droumquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, Ireland, and Junior United Service Club, Charles St., S.W.  
 1869 COLTHURST, J.B., 38, Elgin Road, Kensington Park, W.  
 115 1879 CONYERS, LORD, 17, Kensington Gardens Terrace, W.  
 1876 COODE, SIR JOHN, 35, Norfolk Square, W., and 2, Westminster Chambers, S.W.  
 1880 COODE, J. CHARLES, C.E., Mecklenburgh Lodge, Grange Road, Ealing, W.  
 1874 †COODE, M. P. (Secunderabad, Madras Presidency, India).  
 1879 COOKE, WM. FRANCIS, 72, Seymour Street, Portman Square, W. (and Melbourne Club).

Year of Election.	
120 1874	COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART, 6, De Vere Gardens, Kensington Palace, W.
1879	COOPER, EDWARD, 19, Berkeley Square, W.
1874	*CORVO, H. E. SUR JOAO ANDRADA, Portugal.
1874	COSENS, FREDERICK W., 16, Water Lane, Tower Street, E.C.
1872	CRANBROOK, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.S.I., 17, Grosvenor Crescent.
125 1880	COWAN, JAMES, M.P., 100, St. George's Square, S.W., and 35, Royal Terrace, Edinburgh, N.B.
1878	†CRAWSHAY, GEORGE, 6, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.
1869	CROLL, ALEXANDER, Mavis Bank, Grange Road, Upper Norwood.
1869	CROLL, COLONEL ALEXANDER ANGUS, Wool Exchange, E.C., and Granard Lodge, Roehampton.
1876	CROSSMAN, COLONEL W., R.E., C.M.G., 80, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W., and Junior United Service Club.
130 1874	CUMMING, GEORGE, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
1878	CURLING, GEORGE S., 39, Grosvenor Street, W.
1874	CURRIE, DONALD, M.P., C.M.G., 18, Hyde Park Place, W.
1877	CURRY, ELIOTT S., M.I.C.E., 7, Sumner Terrace, Onslow Square, S.W.
1875	CURWEN, REV. E. H., Plumbland Rectory, Carlisle.
135 1868	DALGETY, F. GONNERMAN, 16, Hyde Park Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
1880	DANGAR, F. H., 7, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1872	DAUBENEY, GENERAL SIR H.C.B., K.C.B., 36, Elvaston Place, S.W.
1873	DAVIS, STEUART S., Spencer House, Knyverton Road, Bournemouth.
1880	DE COLYAR, HENRY A., 24, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.
140 1880	DEPOIX-TYREL, JOHN, 8, Argyle Road, W.
1876	DEVERELL, W. T., 6, Blenheim Road, St. John's Wood, N.W., and City Liberal Club, Walbrook, E.C.
1879	DIBLEY, GEORGE, 19, Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, E.C.
1878	DICKSON, JAMES, Palace House, Croydon, and 25, Milk Street, Cheapside, E.C.
1878	DODGSON, WILLIAM OLIVER, Manor House, Sevenoaks.
145 1879	DOMETT, ALFRED, C.M.G., 32, St. Charles Square, North Kensington, W.
1878	DOMVILLE, LIEUT.-GENERAL J. W., R.A.
1879	DONALDSON, ALEXANDER, Kenmure, Kenley, Surrey.
1879	DONNELLY, HARRY WALTER, C. E., 30, College Green, Dublin.
1871	DOUGLAS, STEWART, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
150 1878	DOYLE, GENERAL SIR HASTINGS, K.C.M.G., 18, Bolton Street, W.
1875	DU CANE, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., 16, Pont Street, Belgrave Square, S.W., and Braxted Park, Witham, Essex.

- 1868 †DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 16, Portman Square, W.  
 1868 DU-CROZ, F. A., 52, Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1868 DUDDELL, GEORGE, Queen's Park, Brighton.  
 155 1868 DUFF, WILLIAM, 11, Orsett Terrace, Bayswater, W.  
 1872 DUNCAN, MAJOR F., R.A., D.O.L., Royal Artillery, Woolwich.  
 1869 DUNCAN, WILLIAM, 88, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  
 1879 DUNCKLEY, CHARLES, 19A, Coleman Street, E.C.  
 1872 DUNN, JAMES A., 47, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 160 1878 †DUNRAVEN, THE RIGHT HON THE EARL OF, K.P., Coombe Wood,  
 Kingston-on-Thames, and White's Club, S.W.  
 1874 DUPRAT, M. LE VISCOMTE, Consul-General for Portugal, 10, St. Mary  
 Axe, E.C., and 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.  
 1876 DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 1, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.  
 1872 DUTTON, F. H., Palace Hotel, Buckingham Gate, S.W.  
 1876 †EDWARDS, STANLEY, Box 199, Christchurch, New Zealand.  
 165 1869 ELCHO, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, M.P., 23, St. James's Place, St.  
 James's, S.W.  
 1872 ELDER, ALEXANDER LANG, Campden House, Kensington, W.  
 1875 ELLIOT, ROBERT H., 88, Park Lane, W., and Clifton Park, Kelso,  
 Roxburghshire, N.B.  
 1874 ENGLEHEART, J. D. G., Duchy of Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place,  
 W.C.  
 1878 EVANS, RICHARDSON, 2, Homefield Terrace, Wimbledon, S.W.  
 170 1879 EWEN, JOHN ALEXANDER, 20, Philip Lane, London Wall, E.C.  
 1872 FAIRFAX, T. S., Newtown, St. Boswell's, N.B., and Junior Carlton  
 Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1879 FAITHFULL, ROBERT L., M.D., 62, Gower Street, W.C.  
 1869 FANNING, WM. BOZEDOWN, Whitechurch, Reading.  
 1873 FARMER, JAMES, 6, Porchester Gate, Hyde Park, W.  
 175 1880 FARMER, JOHN, Weavers' Hall, 22, Basinghall Street, E.C.  
 1878 FASS, A., 70, Queen Street, Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1873 †FEARON, FREDERICK (Secretary of the Trust and Loan Company of  
 Canada), 7, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C.  
 1879 FELL, ARTHUR, 5, Pembroke Road, Kensington, W.  
 1876 FERARD, B. A., The Glen, Freshwater, Isle of Wight.  
 180 1875 FERGUSSON, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., K.C.M.G.,  
 Governor of Bombay, Carlton Club; and Kilkertan, N.B.  
 1873 FIFE, GEORGE R., 29, Great St. Helen's, E.C.  
 1879 FITT, JOHN H. BARTICA, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, S.E., and  
 Barbados.

Year of Election.	
1876	FOOKING, ADOLPHUS, 106, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
1878	FOLKARD, ARTHUR, 20, Clifton Villas, Maida Vale, W.
185 1876	FORSTER, ANTHONY, 5, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1875	FORSTER, THE RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P., 80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
1868	FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY F., 9, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
1879	FRASER, WILLIAM M., 45, Portman Square, and St. Stephen's Club, S.W.
1870	†FREELAND, HUMPHRY W., 16, Suffolk Street, S.W.; Athenæum Club; and Chichester.
190 1868	FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5, Bank Buildings, E.C.
1872	*FROUDE, J. A., M.A., F.R.S., 5, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1880	GALT, SIR ALEXANDER T., G.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Canada, 10, Victoria Chambers, and 66, Lancaster Gate, W.
1869	†GALTON, CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, C.B., 12, Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
1879	†GARDNER, STEWART, 7, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
195 1880	GERVERS, FRANCIS H. A., Kimberley Lodge, New Malden, Surrey.
1879	GHOSH, NANDA LAL, 17, Bristol Gardens, Maida Hill, W.
1873	GIDDY, R. W. H., Langley House, Beckenham, Kent.
1879	GILCHRIST JAMES, 11, Pembridge Villas, Bayswater, W.
1875	GILLESPIE, ROBERT, 81, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
200 1880	GLOVER, COLONEL T. G., R.E., Barwood, Hersham, near Esher, Surrey.
1869	GODSON, GEORGE R., 8, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
1875	GOLLAN, DONALD, care of J. Farmer, Esq., 6, Porchester Gate, W.
1876	GOODWIN, REV. R., Hildersham Rectory, Cambridge.
1869	GOSCHEN, THE RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., 69, Portland Place, W.
205 1880	GRAHAME, W. S., Abercorn, Richmond Hill, S.W.
1868	GRAIN, WILLIAM, 50, Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.
1869	GRANVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. EARL, K.G., 18, Carlton House-Terrace, S.W.
1877	†GREATHEAD, JAS. H., C.E., 8, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
1876	GREENE, FREDERICK, 142, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
210 1874	GREEN, GEORGE, Glanton House, Sydenham Rise, S.E.
1868	GREGORY, CHARLES HUTTON, C.M.G., 2, Delalay Street, Westminster, S.W.
1879	GRAY, GEORGE, Hanover Square Club, W.
1879	GREIG, HENRY ALFRED, The Eaves, Belvedere, Kent.
1876	GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, 57, Harcourt Terrace, S.W.

*Royal Colonial Institute.*

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Year of  
Election.

- 215 1877 GRIFFITHS, MAJOR ARTHUR, 59, Belgrave Road, S.W., and Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1879 GUILLEMARD, ARTHUR G., Eltham, Kent.
- 1874 GWYNNE, FRANCIS A., 15, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W., Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.
- 1879 †HADFIELD, ROBERT, M.I.M.E., Ashdell, Sheffield.
- 1879 HADLEY, ALDERMAN S. C., 148, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
- 220 1876 HALIBURTON, A. L., C.B., 2, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
- 1878 HALL, ARTHUR, 35, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
- 1875 HALL, HENRY, 4, Glynde Terrace, Lavender Hill, S.W.
- 1868 HAMILTON, ARCHIBALD, 17, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1890 HAMILTON, P., Lewisham Park, S.E.
- 225 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1876 HANBURY, PHILIP CAPEL, 60, Lombard St., and Windham Club, S.W.
- 1878 HARBOTTLE, THOMAS, 78, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- 1868 HARRINGTON, THOMAS MOORE, National Bank of Australasia, 149, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1877 †HARRIS, WOLF, 14, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, W.
- 230 1879 HARSTON, E. F. BUTTEMER, Bank Chambers, 38, Throgmorton Street, E.C.
- 1879 HARTINGTON, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, M.P., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, W.
- 1869 HAUGHTON, JOHN, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W.
- 1880 HEALEY, EDWARD C., 86, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1876 \*HECTOR, JAMES, M.D., C.M.G. (Colonial Museum, Wellington, New Zealand).
- 235 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, East Neuk, Blackheath.
- 1868 HENTY, WILLIAM, 12, Medina Villas, Brighton.
- 1877 HERRING, REV. A. STYLEMAN, B.A., 45, Colebrooke Row, N.
- 1878 HIGHETT, ANGLESEA, 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W.
- 1876 HILL, REV. JOHN G. H., M.A., 2, St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, N.W., and Quarley Rectory, Andover, Hants.
- 240 1869 HILL, JOHN S., 32, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
- 1880 HILL, MATTHEW, 2, Monson Place, Mount Pleasant, Tunbridge Wells.
- 1879 HILL, THOMAS DANIEL, 21, Grosvenor Place, S.W., and 4, Mincing Lane, E.C.
- 1872 HODGSON, ARTHUR, C. M. G., Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon, and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1879 HODGSON, H. TYLSTON, M.A., Harpenden, Hertfordshire.
- 245 1879 HOFFNUNG, S., 38, Redcliffe Square, S.W.

Year of  
Election.

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|     | 1874 | †HOGG, QUINTIN, 4, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.  |
|     | 1875 | HOLLINGS, H. DE B., M.A., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.                     |
|     | 1879 | HORA, JAMES, 103, Victoria Street, S.W.   |
|     | 1869 | HOUGHTON, LORD, M.A., D.C.L., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.                             |
| 250 | 1876 | †HOUSTOUN, G. L., Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.                           |
|     | 1880 | IM THURN, EVERARD F., Unsworth, College Road, Dulwich, S.E.                                 |
|     | 1880 | IRVINE, THOMAS W., 10, Austin Friars, E.C.  |
|     | 1869 | IRWIN, J. V. H., 13, Hensbridge Villas, St. John's Wood, N.W.                               |
|     | 1877 | ISAACS, MICHAEL BABEL, 85, Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.                                   |
| 255 | 1869 | JAMIESON, HUGH, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  |
|     | 1872 | JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.                                 |
|     | 1880 | JOHNSON, EDMUND, F.S.S., 8, Northwick Terrace, N.W.   |
|     | 1868 | JONES, SIR WILLOUGHBY, BART., Cranmer Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk.                              |
|     | 1877 | JOSHUA, SAUL, 27, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill, W.  |
| 260 | 1874 | JOURDAIN, H. J., 54, Gloucester Gardens, W.   |
|     | 1868 | JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G. and C.B., Cornwall House, Brompton Crescent, S.W.          |
|     | 1876 | KARUTH, FRANK, Oakhurst, The Knoll, Beckenham, Kent.  |
|     | 1879 | KEEP, EDWARD, 2, Belsize Park, N.W.   |
|     | 1877 | KENNEDY, JOHN MURRAY, Knockralling, Kirkcudbrightshire, N.B., and New University Club, S.W. |
| 265 | 1879 | KEY, ADMIRAL SIR ASTLEY COOPER, K.C.B., F.R.S., 13, New Street, Spring Gardens, S.W.        |
|     | 1874 | KIMBER, HENRY, 79, Lombard Street, E.C.   |
|     | 1869 | †KINNAIRD, LORD, 2, Pall Mall East, S.W.  |
|     | 1880 | †KIRKCALDIE, ROBERT, Villa Rosa, Potters Bar, N.  |
|     | 1875 | KNIGHT, A. H., 62, Holland Park, Kensington, W.   |
| 270 | 1876 | KNIGHT, JOSEPH J., Mera Lodge, Bexley Heath, Kent.  |
|     | 1878 | KNIGHT, WM., 4, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.   |
|     | 1878 | KOUGH, THOMAS W., Eastnor Cottage, Reigate, Surrey.   |
|     | 1869 | †LABILLIERE, FRANCIS P., 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.  |
|     | 1878 | LAING, DR. P. SINCLAIR, 28, Claverton Street, St. George's Square, S.W.                     |
| 275 | 1879 | LAING, JAMES R., 7, Australian Avenue, E.C.   |
|     | 1880 | LANDALE, ALEXANDER, 65, Oxford Terrace, Hyde Park, W.                                       |
|     | 1876 | †LARDNER, W. G., 2, Burwood Place, Hyde Park, W.  |
|     | 1878 | LARK, TIMOTHY, 9, Pembridge Place, Bayswater, W.  |



Year of  
Election.

- 1878 LASCELLES, JOHN, 4, Percy Road, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- 280 1875 LAWRENCE, W. F., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1877 LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER M., 17, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.
- 1878 LE CREN, HENRY JOHN, 107, St. George's Square, S.W.
- 1880 LEGGE, CAPTAIN W. VINCENT, R.A., Aberystwith, Wales.
- 1878 LEISHMAN, HENRY A., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 285 1879 LETHBRIDGE, WILLIAM, M.A., 71, Portland Place, W.
- 1869 LEVESON, EDWARD J., Cluny, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
- 1874 LEVIN, NATHANIEL, 44, Cleveland Square, W.
- 1874 LITTLETON, HON. HENRY, Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.
- 1874 \*LLOYD, SAMPSON S., M.P., Moor Hall, Sutton-Coldfield, Warwickshire; and Carlton Club.
- 290 1878 LONG, CLAUDE, H., M. A., 50, Marine Parade, Brighton.
- 1878 †LORNE, THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS of, K.P., G.C.M.G. (Governor General of Canada).
- 1876 LOUGHNAN, HENRY.
- 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON (Christchurch, New Zealand).
- 1880 LOWRY, MAJOR-GENERAL R. W., C.B., 25, Warrington Crescent, Maida Hill, W., and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 295 1877 LUBBOCK, NEVILLE, 16, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1871 LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 15, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1872 LYONS, GEORGE, M.A., 47, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1879 †LYELL, FRANCIS H., F.R.G.S., St. Helier's, Bickley, Kent, and Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1878 MACALISTER, ARTHUR, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), 82, Charing Cross, S.W.
- 300 1869 McARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P., Raleigh Hall, Brixton, S.W.
- 1878 McARTHUR, ALDERMAN, WILLIAM, M.P., 1, Gwyder Houses, Brixton, S.W.
- 1878 McCALMAN, ALLAN C., 27, Holland Park, W.
- 1874 MacCARTHY, JUSTIN, M.P., 48, Gower Street, W.C.
- 1880 McCCLURE, SIR THOMAS, BART., M.P., Belmont, Belfast, and Reform Club, S.W.
- 305 1878 †McCONNELL, JOHN, 65, Holland Park, W.
- 1868 McDONALD, H. C., Warwick House, South Norwood Park, S.E., and 116, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1869 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER J., 2, Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1872 MacDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES, K.C.M.G., C.B., 11, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W., Athenæum Club.

Year of Election.	
1877	MACDOUGALL, LIEUT-GENERAL SIR PATRICK L., K.C.M.G. (commanding Her Majesty's Forces in British North America), Halifax, Nova Scotia.
310 1874	MACEWEN, JOHN T. HOWIE, Old Swan Wharf, E.C.
1879	†MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, 25, Sackville Street, W.
1869	MACFIE, R. A., Reform Club, S.W., and Dreghorn, Colinton, Edinburgh, N.B.
1879	MCILWRAITH, ANDREW, 84, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
1880	McKELLAR, THOMAS, Arrochar House, Arrochar, Dumbartonshire, N.B.
315 1874	McKERRELL, R. M., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1874	MACKILLOP, C. W., 14, Royal Crescent, Bath.
1869	MACKINNON, W., Balmakiel, Clachan, Argyleshire, N.B.
1872	MACLEAY, ALEXANDER D., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1869	MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., Pendell Court, Bletchingley, Surrey, and Athenæum Club.
320 1875	†MACPHERSON, JOSEPH, Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W.
1878	MALCOLM, A. J., 27, Lombard Street, E.C.
1879	MALLESON, FRANK R., Camp Cottage, Wimbledon, S.W.
1869	MANBY, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, F.R.S., 9, Victoria Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
1868	†MANCHESTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.P., 1, Great Stanhope Street, W., and Kimbolton Castle, St. Neots.
325 1869	MANNERS-SUTTON, HON. GRAHAM, Arthur's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1878	MARCHANT, W. L., Crow's Nest, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
1879	MARE, WILLIAM H., 15, Onslow Square, S.W.
1868	MARSH, M. H., Ramridge, Andover, Hants.
1877	MARSHALL, JOHN, F.R.G.S., Auckland Lodge, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.
330 1879	MARTIN, WILLIAM, 2, Lower Royal, Cannon Street, E.C.
1880	MATTERSON, WILLIAM, Endsleigh, Streatham, S.W.
1875	MATTHEWS, WILLIAM, 46, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
1877	MAYNARD, H. W., St. Aubyn's, Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.
1875	MAYNE, EDWARD GRAVES, M.A., 40, Elgin Road, Dublin.
335 1878	MEINERTZHAGAN, ERNEST LOUIS, Belmont, Wimbledon Common, S.W.
1872	MEREWETHER, F. S. S.
1877	MERRY, WILLIAM L., Wool Exchange, Coleman Street, E.C.
1877	†METCALFE, FRANK E., Highfield, Hendon, N.
1878	MEWBURN, WILLIAM R., 1, Bank Buildings, Lothbury, E.C.
340 1874	MILLER, JOHN, Sherbrooke Lodge, Brixton, S.W.
1879	MILLER, WILLIAM, 55, Lancaster Gate, W.

- 1869 MILLIGAN, DR. JOSEPH, 6, Craven Street, Strand, W.C.  
 1878 MOCATTA, ERNEST G., 58, Kensington Gardens Square, W.  
 1868 MOLINEUX, GISBORNE, 1, East India Avenue, E.C.  
 345 1869 MONCK, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., Brooks' Club, S.W., and  
 Charleville, Enniskerry, Wicklow.  
 1869 MONTAGU, J. M. P., Downe Hall, Bridport, Dorset, and 51, St.  
 George's Road, S.W.  
 1869 MONTEFIORE, JACOB, 85, Hyde Park Square, W.  
 1878 MONTEFIORE, J. B., 36, Kensington Gardens Square, W.  
 1877 MONTEFIORE, J. L., 50, Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 350 1878 MONTEFIORE, LESLIE J., 28, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  
 1879 MONTEFIORE, SIDNEY B., 50, Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 1868 †MONTGOMERIE, HUGH E., 17, Gracechurch Street, E.C.  
 1878 MOODIE, G. P., 15, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1873 MOORE, WM. FREDK., 5, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.  
 355 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 6, The Boltons, South Kensington,  
 S.W.  
 1876 \*MORGAN, HENRY J., Ottawa, Canada.  
 1877 MORT, LAIDLEY, Endrick, Epsom, Surrey.  
 1869 MORT, W., 1, Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.  
 1879 MOSENTHAL, HENRY DE, 1, Beer Lane, E.C.  
 360 1880 MOULES, HENRY, English, Scottish, and Australian Bank, 73,  
 Cornhill, E.C.  
 1875 MUIR, HUGH, 80, Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1880 MURRAY, W. M., 12, 13 & 14, Barbican, E.C.  
 1877 NATHAN, HON. HENRY (late M.L.C. British Columbia), 110, Ports-  
 down Road, Maida Hill, W.  
 1874 †NAZ, VIRGILE, C.M.G. (M.L.C. Mauritius), care of Messrs. Chalmers,  
 Guthrie & Co., 89, Lime Street, E.C.  
 365 1880 NEILL, G. J., D.A.C.G.  
 1875 NELSON, WILLIAM, 2, Jury Street, Warwick.  
 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., The Grange, Totteridge, Herts, N.  
 1868 NORTHCOTE, THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD H., BART., G.C.B., M.P.,  
 Carlton Club, S.W., and The Pynes, near Exeter, Devon.  
 1880 NOURSE, HENRY, Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 370 1874 NUTT, R.W., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W., and Paris.  
 1878 OAKLEY, WILLIAM, 29, Charles Street, St. James's, S.W.  
 1876 OHLSON, JAMES L., 9, Billiter Square, E.C.  
 1875 O'NEILL, JOHN HUGH (Agent for Quebec), 81, Queen Victoria  
 Street, E.C.

Year of Election.	
1875	†OPPENHEIM, HERMANN, 17, Rue de Londres, Paris.
375 1875	OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH, 52, Brown Street, Manchester.
1872	OTWAY, ARTHUR JOHN, M.P., 19, Cromwell Road, S.W.
1880	OWEN, SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., 2, The Residences, South Kensington Museum, S.W.
1875	PAGET, JOHN C., 79, Woodstock Road, Finsbury Park, N.
1879	PALLISER, CAPTAIN EDWARD, 6, Charleville Road, West Kensington, S.W.
380 1878	PALLISER, CAPTAIN JOHN, C.M.G., National Club, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
1879	PALLISER, LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WILLIAM, C.B., M.P., 21, Earl's Court Square, S.W.
1876	PALMER, HENRY POLLARD, 66, Dale Street, Port Street, Manchester.
1879	PARFITT, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, 8, Waterfield Terrace, Blackheath, S.E.
1880	PARK, W. C. CUNNINGHAM, 25, Lime Street, E.C.
385 1877	PARKINSON, THOMAS, Crossley Street, Halifax.
1879	PARTRIDGE, FREDERICK J., 85, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.
1869	PATERSON, J., 7 and 8, Australian Avenue, E.C.
1874	PATTERSON, MYLES, 28, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park, W.
1879	†PATTINSON, JOSEPH, 12, Bow Lane, E.C.
390 1876	PAYNE, EDWARD J., 131, Piccadilly, W.
1877	PEACOCK, GEORGE, 74, Coleman Street, E.C.
1877	PEACOCK, J. M., Clevedon, Addiscombe, Surrey.
1878	†PEEK, CUTHBERT EDGAR, Wimbledon House, S.W.
1879	PELLY, LEONARD, Oakley, Merstham, Surrey.
395 1875	PERCEVAL, AUGUSTUS G., Horsley, Bournemouth, Hants.
1875	PERRY, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., 82, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
1879	†PETHERICK, EDWARD A., 17, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row, E.C.
1879	PHARAZYN, EDWARD, Hanover Square Club, W.
1875	PHILPOTT, RICHARD, 8, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
400 1878	†PIM, CAPTAIN BEDFORD, R.N., Leaside, Kingswood Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
1880	PLANT, GEORGE W., 145, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
1878	PLEWMAN, THOMAS, 8, Lexham Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W.
1869	†POORE, MAJOR R., Old Lodge, Newton Toney, Salisbury, Hants.
1878	POPE, WILLIAM AGNEW, Merrington House, Bolton Gardens, S.W., and Union Club, S.W.
405 1875	PORTER, ROBERT, Westfield House, South Lyncombe, Bath.
1878	PRANCE, REGINALD H., 2, Hercules Passage, E.C., and Frogna, Hampstead, N.W.

- 1868 PRATT, J. J., Commissioner for the Transvaal, 79, Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.
- 1878 PRINCE, J. SAMPSON, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, W.
- 1874 PUGH, W. R., M.D., 8, Fairfax Road, South Hampstead, N.W.
- 410 1879 PUNCH, JAMES W., Denmark House, Forest Rise, Snaresbrook, Essex.
- 1875 PUNSHON, REY. DR. MORLEY, Tranby, Brixton Rise, S.W.
- 1871 QUIN, THOMAS F., F.R.G.S., Whitelands, High Street, Clapham, S.W.
- 1868 RAE, JAMES, 82, Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1869 †RAE, JOHN, LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.
- 415 1876 RAE, JOHN, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., 4, Addison Gardens West, Kensington, W.
- 1872 RAMAGE, W. W., London and Colorado Co., Winchester Buildings, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, Woldringfold, near Horsham.
- 1880 †RANKIN, JAMES, M.P., 85, Ennismore Gardens, S.W., and Bryngwyn, Hereford.
- 1879 REID, GEORGE, 79, Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.
- 420 1880 REID, W. L., 19, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1878 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, Limber Magna, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.
- 1874 RICHMAN, H. J., 46, Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
- 1868 RIDGWAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL A., 2, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1872 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER, Lewes, Sussex.
- 425 1880 ROBERTSON, ROBERT M., 12, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W.
- 1878 ROBINSON, SIR BRYAN, 18, Gordon Place, Kensington, W.
- 1879 ROBINSON, MURRELL R., M.I.C.E., 9, Longridge Road, South Kensington,
- 1869 ROGERS, ALEXANDER, 88, Clanricarde Gardens, W. [S.W.]
- 1877 ROGERS, COLIN, 9, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 430 1878 ROSE, B. LANCASTER, 1, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1879 ROSE, CHARLES D., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C.
- 1869 ROSE, SIR JOHN, BART., G.C.M.G., Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane, E.C., and 18, Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1874 ROSS, HAMILTON, 22, Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1880 ROSS, JOHN, Morven Park, Potters Bar, N.
- 435 1879 ROUTLEDGE, THOMAS, Claxheugh, Sunderland.
- 1879 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN A. H., Hyde Lodge, Winchester.
- 1875 RUSSELL, G. GREY, care of Messrs. Russell, Le Cren, and Co., 37, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1879 RUSSELL, P. N., 66, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- 1875 RUSSELL, PURVIS, The Scottish Club, Dover Street, W.
- 440 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, Haremare Hall, Hurstgreen, Sussex.

**Year of  
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- 1878 RUSSELL, THOMAS, C.M.G., 22, Palace Gardens, Kensington, W.  
 1878 RUTHERFORD, JOHN, 5, Bountsfield Place, Edinburgh.  
 1876 RYALL, R., 24, Warwick Lane, E.C.
- 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.
- 445 1880 SANDFORD, COLONEL SIR HERBERT BRUCE, R.A., 1, Gloucester Place,  
 Hyde Park, W.
- 1872 SANJO, J., 8, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.  
 1868 †SARGEANT, W. C., C.M.G., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.  
 1880 SARGOOD, FREDERICK T., Philip Lane, London Wall, E.C.  
 1873 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 12, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 450 1879 SAUNDERS, H. W. D., Brickendon Grange, Hertford.  
 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 36, Sackville Street, W.  
 1869 †SCHWARTZE, HELMUTH, Osnabruck House, Denmark Hill, S.E.  
 1879 SOLANDERS, ALEXANDER, 10, Cedars Road, Clapham Common, S.W.  
 1872 SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 4, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.E.
- 455 1868 SEARIGHT, JAMES, 7, East India Avenue, E.C.  
 1879 SHAND, SIR C. FARQUHAR, D4, The Albany, W.  
 1880 SHAW, JOHN, 108, Holland Road, Kensington, W., and 48, Bedford  
 Row, W.C.
- 1879 SHEPHERD, WILLIAM LAKE, 80, Talbot Road, Westbourne Park, W.  
 1874 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 460 1868 †SILVER, S. W., 4, Sun Court, Cornhill, E.C.  
 1869 SIMMONDS, P. L., 61, Cheapside, E.C.  
 1879 SMITH, ARTHUR, The Shrubbery, Walmer, Kent.  
 1879 SMITH, CATHERSON, 18, Wood Street, Cheapside, E.C.  
 1878 SMITH, DAVID, 5, Lawrence Poultney Lane, E.C., and 11, Arundel  
 Terrace, Brighton.
- 465 1880 SMITH, JOSEPH J., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C.  
 1878 SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.P., 16, Charles Street,  
 Berkeley Square, W., and The Greenland, Henley-on-Thames.
- 1874 SOPER, W. G., 10, King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, E.C.  
 1878 SPENCE, J. BEGER, F.R.G.S., &c., 31, Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1874 SPICER, JAMES, 50, Upper Thames Street, E.C.
- 470 1879 STAFFORD, SIR EDWARD W., K.C.M.G., 4, Cleveland Terrace, Hyde  
 Park, W.
- 1872 STANFORD, EDWARD, 55, Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1878 STARKE, J. GIBSON, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), Troqueer Holm, near  
 Dumfries, N.B.
- 1878 STEELE, WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, National Bank of New Zealand,  
 37, Lombard Street, E.C.
- 1875 STEIN, ANDREW, Protea House, Cambridge Gardens, Notting Hill, W.

Year of  
Election.

- 475 1879 STERN, PHILIP, 8, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.  
 1875 STEVENSON, L. O., 78, Courtfield Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1878 STEWART, ROBERT, Mimosa Dale, Lordship Lane, East Dulwich, S.E.  
 1874 †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES, BART, Glorat, Milton of Campsie, N.B., and  
 Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1877 STONE, F. W., B.C.L., 7, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 480 1872 STOVIN, REV. C. F., 59, Warwick Square, S.W.  
 1875 STRANGWAYS, H. B. T., 2, Cambridge Park Gardens, Twickenham,  
 S.W., and 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.  
 1880 †STREET, EDMUND, F.R.G.S., Millfield Lane, Highgate Rise, N.  
 1878 SUTHERLAND, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., Stafford House, St.  
 James's, S.W.  
 1868 SWALE, REV. H. J., M.A., J.P., The Elms, Guildford, Surrey.
- 485 1875 SYMONS, G. J., F.R.S., 62, Camden Square, N.W.  
 1878 TAIT, SIR PETER.  
 1876 TAYLOR, CHARLES J., 80, Rue de l'Industrie, Brussels.  
 1879 TAYLOR, JAMES BANKS, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1878 \*TENNYSON, ALFRED, D.C.L., Haslemere, Surrey.
- 490 1879 THOMAS, T. J., 188, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.  
 1875 THOMSON, J. D., St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.  
 1877 THRUPP, LEONARD W., 10, Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.  
 1869 TIDMAN, PAUL FREDERICK, 84, Leadenhall Street, E.C.  
 1872 TINLINE, GEORGE, 17, Prince's Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 495 1875 TOOTH, FRED., care of Messrs. Mort & Co., 155, Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1872 TORRENS, SIR ROBERT R., K.C.M.G., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1874 TRIMMER, EDMUND, 75, Cambridge Terrace, W., and 41, Botolph  
 Lane, E.C.  
 1878 TURNBULL, ALEXANDER, 118, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.  
 1878 †TURNBULL, WALTER, Mount Henley, Sydenham Hill, Norwood, S.E.
- 500 1879 ULCOQ, CLEMENT J. A., 22, Pembridge Gardens, W.  
 1874 VANDER-BYL, P.G. (Consul-General for the Orange Free State  
 Republic), care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie and Co., 89,  
 Lime Street, E.C.  
 1879 VOGEL, SIR JULIUS, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for New Zealand, 7,  
 Westminster Chambers, S.W., and 135, Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 1879 WAKEFIELD, CHARLES M., F.L.S., Belmont, Uxbridge.  
 1878 WALES, H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF, K.G., K.P., K.T., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,  
 G.C.M.G., Marlborough House, S.W.

	Year of Election.	
505	1869	WALKER, EDWARD.
	1878	WALKER, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., C.B., Uplands, Taunton.
	1868	WALKER, WM., F.R.G.S., 48, Hildrop Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
	1877	WALLACE, HENRY RITCHIE COOPER, of Busbie and Cloncaird, 21, Magdala Crescent, Edinburgh.
	1879	WALLER, WILLIAM N., J.P., The Grove, Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
510	1878	WALTER, CAPT. EDWARD, Tangley, Wokingham, Berkshire.
	1878	WARD, ALEXANDER, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
	1880	WARREN, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES, R.E., C.M.G., Brompton Barracks, Chatham.
	1877	*WATSON, J. FORBES, M.A., M.D., LL.D., 5, Versailles Road, Anerley, S.E.
	1879	WEATHERLY, DAVID KINGHORN, 9, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
515	1869	WEBB, WILLIAM, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.
	1870	WELLINGS, HENRY, Hanover Square Club, W.
	1877	WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 117, Cannon Street, E.C.
	1875	WESTERN, CHARLES R., Chaddesden Hill, Derby.
	1868	WESTGARTH, WILLIAM, 28, Cornhill, E.C., and 10, Bolton Gardens, S.W.
520	1878	WHEELER, CHARLES, Park House, Addlestone, Surrey.
	1878	WHITE, ROBERT, Midmay Chambers, 82, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.
	1877	WHITEFORD, WILLIAM, 4, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.
	1876	WHITEHEAD, HERBERT M., Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
	1880	WHITWELL, JOHN, M.P. (President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom), Bank House, Kendal, and National Club, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
525	1874	WILLS, GEORGE, White Hall, Hornsey Lane, N., and Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.
	1874	WILLIAMS, W. J., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
	1879	WILLIAMSON, JAMES, 95, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
	1878	WILSON, ROBERT, St. Mary's Chambers, St. Mary Axe, E.C.
	1876	WILSON, EDWARD D. J., Reform Club, S.W.
530	1874	WINGFIELD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., C.B., Arthur's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
	1868	†WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W., and Boscombe Tower, Ringwood, Hants.
	1877	WOOD, REV. ALBERT, M.A., D.C.L., The Rectory, South Reston, near Louth, Lincolnshire.
	1878	WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.
	1868	WRAY, LEONARD.



Year of  
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535	1875	YARDLEY, S., 8, Westminster Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
	1868	YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G., Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.
	1874	YOUNG, ADOLPHUS W., M.P., 55, Davies Street, Berkeley Square, W.; Reform Club, S.W.; and Hare Hatch House, Twyford, Berks.
	1869	†YOUNG, FREDERICK, 5, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.

## NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of Election:	
1880	ABDUR-RAHMAN, Abul Fazl, India.
40 1878	ACKROYD, EDWARD JAMES, Substitute Master of the Supreme Court of Mauritius, Port Louis, Mauritius.
1878	ACLAND, HON. J. B. ARUNDEL, M.L.C., Christchurch, New Zealand.
1877	ADOLPHUS, EDWIN, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
1876	AKERMAN, J. W., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1879	ALEXANDER, A. H., Immigration Agent-General, Kingston, Jamaica.
45 1879	ALEXANDER, DOUGLAS, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
1872	ALLAN, THE HON. G. W., Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.
1878	†ALLAN, SIR HUGH, Montreal, Canada.
1880	ALLEN, ROBERT, J.P., Colworth, Ladysmith, Natal.
1879	ALLEYNE, GEORGE H., Barbados, West Indies.
50 1880	†ALLPORT, WALTER H., C.E., The Repp, Newmarket P. O., Jamaica.
1880	ANDERSON, F. H., M.D., Government Medical Officer, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1878	ANDERSON, DICKSON, Montreal, Canada.
1878	ANDREWS, WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	†ANGAS, J. H., J.P., Collingrove, South Australia.
55 1879	ARCHIBALD, HON. ADAMS G., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1877	ARMYTAG, FERDINAND F., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
1875	†ARNOT, DAVID, Eskdale, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1877	ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS, South Sea Islands.
1880	ATHERSTONE, EDWIN M. B., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
60 1876	ATHERSTONE, DR. W. GUYBON, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).
1880	ATHERSTONE, GUYBON D., A.I.C.E., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1872	AULD, PATRICK, Auldana, Adelaide, South Australia.
1878	†AUSTIN, CHARLES PIERCY, Assistant Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1877	AUSTIN, THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PERCY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Guiana, Kingston House, Georgetown, British Guiana.
65 1878	AUVRAY, P. ELICIO, Kingston, Jamaica.
1878	BALL, FREDERICK A., Queen's Park, Toronto, Canada.
1876	BALDWIN, CAPTAIN W., Chingford, Dunedin, New Zealand.
1875	BAM, J. A., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape of Colony.
1879	BANNERMAN, SAMUEL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
70 1880	BARROW, H., Colmar House, Kingston, Jamaica.
1875	BARRY, HIS HONOUR SIR JACOB D., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1875	BARTER, CHARLES, Durban, Natal.

- 1879 BARTLEY, ARTHUR H., B.A., Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1880 BARTON, WILLIAM, The Upper Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand.  
 575 1875 BAYNES, HON. EDWIN DONALD, C.M.G., President of Antigua, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.  
 1877 BAYNES, THOMAS, Antigua, West Indies.  
 1878 BEAN, GEORGE T., Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1880 BEARD, CHARLES HALMAIN, St. Kitts, West Indies.  
 1878 BECKER, CHARLES J., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.  
 580 1875 BECKWITH, H. B., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  
 1872 BEERE, D. M., Thames, Auckland, New Zealand.  
 1877 BEETHAM, WILLIAM H., Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1879 BEIT, HENRY, Sydney, New South Wales.  
 1880 BELMONTE, B. C. CALACO, M.A., D.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 585 1880 BENNETT, GEORGE, M.D., Sydney, New South Wales.  
 1878 BENJAMIN, DAVID, Cape Town, Cape Colony.  
 1880 BENNETT, SAMUEL MACKENZIE, Kingston, Jamaica.  
 1879 BENSON, GEORGE C., Superintendent of Government Telegraphs, Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1875 BENSUSAN, RALPH, Cape Town, Cape Colony.  
 590 1880 BERKELEY, J. H., Hardtman, Shadwell, St. Kitts, West Indies.  
 1878 BERKELEY, HON. HENRY S., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.  
 1879 BERKELEY, HON. T. B. H., C.M.G., Vice-President of the Federal Council, Cedar Hill, Antigua, West Indies.  
 1878 BERRIDGE, A. HAMILTON, M.L.A., St. Kitt's, West Indies.  
 1880 BERRIDGE, W. D., Colonial Bank, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.  
 595 1880 BERRY, ALEXANDER, Kingston P. O., Jamaica.  
 1877 BIRCH, A. S., Fitzherbert, Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1873 BIRCH, W. J., JUN., Little Flaxmere, Hastings, New Zealand.  
 1877 BLACKWOOD, JAMES, Orring Road, near Melbourne, Australia.  
 1874 BLYTH, CAPTAIN, C.M.G., Governor's Agent, Ibeka, South Africa.  
 600 1879 BOMPAS, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Panmure, East London, Cape Colony.  
 1878 BOOTHBY, JOSIAH, C.M.G., J.P., Under-Secretary, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1879 BORMAN, EDWIN H., Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1879 BOUCHERVILLE, A. DE, Port Louis, Mauritius.  
 1874 BOURINOT, J. G., Assistant Clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.  
 605 1879 BOURKE, WELLESLEY, Kingston, Jamaica.  
 1878 †BOUSFIELD, THE RIGHT REV. E. H., D.D., Lord Bishop of Pretoria, Bishop's Cote, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.  
 1874 BOWEN, EDWARD C., Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada.  
 1877 BOWERBANK, L. Q., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Kingston, Jamaica.

Year of  
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|    | 1879 | BRADFIELD, JOHN L., M.L.A., Dordrecht, Wodehouse, Cape Colony.   |
| 10 | 1878 | BRANDON, ALFRED DE BATHE, M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.   |
|    | 1874 | BRIDGE, H. H., Fairfield, Ruataniwha, Napier, New Zealand.   |
|    | 1880 | BRIDGES, W. F., New Amsterdam, British Guiana.   |
|    | 1874 | BRODRIBB, W. A., Buckhurst, Double Bay, near Sydney, N. S. W.  |
|    | 1878 | BRODRIBB, KENRIC E., Burnett Street, St. Kilda, near Melbourne, Australia.   |
| 15 | 1875 | BROUGHTON, FREDERICK, Great Western Railway of Canada, Hamilton, Ontario.  |
|    | 1874 | BROWN, CHARLES, Queenstown, Cape Colony.   |
|    | 1880 | BROWN, JOHN, M.B., J.P., Fraserburg, Cape Colony.  |
|    | 1872 | BROWN, THE HON. THOMAS, Bathurst, River Gambia, West Africa.   |
|    | 1880 | †BROWNE, C. MACAULEY, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  |
| 20 | 1879 | BRUMMEL, JOHN, Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.   |
|    | 1880 | BUCHANAN, E. J., Acting Judge of the Supreme Court, Grahams-town, Cape Colony.                                     |
|    | 1879 | BULL, JAMES, Rangitiki, New Zealand.   |
|    | 1877 | BULLIVANT, WILLIAM HOSE, Avalon, Lara, Victoria, Australia.  |
|    | 1869 | BULWER, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY ERNEST LYTTON, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Windward Islands, Barbados, West Indies. |
| 25 | 1880 | BURGER, HENRY J., Kingston, Jamaica.   |
|    | 1876 | BURGERS, HON. J. A., M.L.C., Murraysburg, Cape Colony.   |
|    | 1879 | BURKE, HENRY LARDNER, B.A., Gordon Terrace, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.   |
|    | 1871 | BURKE, HON. SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, M.L.C., Assistant Attorney-General, Jamaica.                                       |
|    | 1879 | BURNSIDE, HON. BRUCE L., Queen's Advocate, Colombo, Ceylon.  |
| 30 | 1879 | BURROWES, A. A., Colonial Receiver General's Office, Georgetown, British Guiana.                                   |
|    | 1872 | BUTLER, LIEUT.-COL. W. F., C.B. (late 69th Regiment).  |
|    | 1872 | BUTTON, EDWARD, Newcastle, Natal.  |
|    | 1878 | †CAIRNCROSS, JOHN, J.P., Member of the Divisional Council, Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.                                |
|    | 1879 | CALDECOTT, HARRY S., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.  |
| 35 | 1878 | CAMPBELL, A. H., Toronto, Canada.  |
|    | 1878 | CAMPBELL, CHARLES J., Toronto, Canada.   |
|    | 1880 | CAMPBELL, COLIN T., Auditor-General, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.                                      |
|    | 1879 | †CAMPBELL, GEORGE, Duntroon, New South Wales.  |
|    | 1878 | CAMPBELL, W. H., LL.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.  |
| 40 | 1880 | CAPPER, THOMAS, Kingston, Jamaica.   |
|    | 1879 | CARFRAE, JOHN, Melbourne, Australia.   |
|    | 1872 | CARON, ADOLPHE P., M.P., Quebec, Canada.   |

- 1879 CARPENTER, FRANK W., Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1878 CARTER, GILBERT T., R.N., Collector of Customs and Treasurer,  
 Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 645 1880 †CARTER, WILLIAM HENRY, B.A., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape  
 Colony.  
 1878 CASEY, HON. J. J., M.P., C.M.G., 86, Temple Court, Melbourne,  
 Australia.  
 1879 CASTOR, CHRISTIAN F., Assistant Surgeon, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.  
 1876 CHADWICK, HON. F. M., Treasurer of Grenada, St. George's,  
 Grenada, West Indies.
- 1878 CHAPMAN, EDWARD, Sydney, New South Wales.  
 650 1879 CHAPMAN, JOHN, M.D., 212, Rue de Rivoli, Paris.  
 1878 CHARNOCK, J. H., Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.  
 1874 CHIAPPINI, DR. P., Cape Town, Cape Colony.  
 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND (Political Agent for Native Princes).  
 1880 †CHISHOLM, W., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 655 1876 †CHRISTIAN, H. B., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.  
 1880 CHRISTIE, L. S., Melbourne, Australia.  
 1878 CLARK, JAMES McCOSH, Auckland, New Zealand.  
 1868 CLARKE, COL. SIR ANDREW, R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B., Commissioner  
 of Public Works, Simla, India.
- 1880 CLARKE, THOMAS F., Halfway Tree P.O., St. Andrew, Jamaica.  
 660 1875 CLOETE, HENRY, Barrister-at-Law, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.  
 1879 †CLOSE, EDWARD CHARLES, Morpeth, New South Wales.  
 1877 COCHRAN, JAMES, care of Messrs. R. Goldsborough & Co., Melbourne,  
 Australia.
- 1880 CODD, JOHN A., Dominion Bank, Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada.  
 1880 †COLLEY, COL. SIR G. POMEROY, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G., Governor  
 of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 665 1872 COLLIER, CHARLES FREDERICK, Barrister-at-Law, Hobart Town,  
 Tasmania.  
 1876 COLLINS, J. WRIGHT, F.S.S., Colonial Treasurer, Stanley, Falkland  
 Islands.
- 1880 COLLYER, WILLIAM R., Acting Chief Justice, Sierra Leone, West Africa.  
 1879 COLTHIRST, HON. HENRY F., M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.  
 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 670 1880 COOTE, AUDLEY, M.L.A., Hobart Town, Tasmania.  
 1879 CORNISH, HORACE H., Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1880 COURTNEY, J. M., Deputy Finance Minister, Ottawa, Canada.  
 1877 †COX, HON. GEORGE H., M.L.C., Mudgee, New South Wales.  
 1875 CRAWFORD, JAMES D., Montreal, Canada.
- 675 1876 CRESWICK, HENRY, Hawthorne, near Melbourne, Australia.  
 1880 CRIPPS, THOMAS N., Kingston, Jamaica.

Year of Election.	
1869	CROOKES, HON. ADAM, M.P., Q.C., LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
1877	CROSBY, JAMES, Immigration Agent-General, Georgetown, British
1880	CROSKERRY, DR. HUGH, Kingston, Jamaica. [Guiana.
o 1873	CUMBERLAND, COLONEL FREDERICK W., Toronto, Canada.
1874	CURRIE, JAMES, Port Louis, Mauritius.
1879	CUTHBERT, SIDNEY, Melsetta, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1879	DA COSTA, D. C., Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies.
1879	DA COSTA, HENRY W., Kingston, Jamaica.
5 1878	DALE, LANGHAM, M.A., LL.D., Superintendent-General of Education, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1879	DALTON, E. H. G., Registrar of the Supreme Courts, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	DALY, THOMAS, Lamaha House, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	DALZIEL, J. A., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1880	DAMPIER, FREDERICK E., Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.
o 1874	DANGAR, W. J., Sydney, New South Wales.
1878	DAVENPORT, GEORGE H., Headington Hill, Brisbane, Queensland.
1877	†DAVENPORT, SAMUEL, Beaumont, Adelaide, South Australia (Corresponding Secretary).
1880	DAVIDSON, JOHN, J. P., Sherwood Forest, Jamaica.
1873	†DAVIS, N. DARNELL, Postmaster-General of British Guiana, Georgetown, British Guiana.
15 1875	†DAVIS, P., JUN., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1880	DAVISON, CHARLES F., M.A., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
1878	DAVSON, GEORGE L., British Guiana Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1878	DAVSON, HENRY K., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1874	DENISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T., Commanding the Governor-General's Body Guard, Toronto, Canada.
o 1880	DES VŒUX, G. W., C.M.G., Governor of the Bahamas, Nassau, Bahamas.
1873	DOMVILLE, CAPTAIN JAMES, M.P., St. John, New Brunswick.
1879	DOUGAL, JOSEPH, Melbourne, Australia.
1874	DOUTRE, JOSEPH, Q.C., Montreal, Canada.
1875	DOUGLAS, ARTHUR, Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
o 1879	D'OYLEY, JOHN, St. Vincent, West Indies.
1880	DUDLEY, CECIL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
1872	DUFFERIN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G. Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, St. Petersburg, Russia.
1879	DUNCAN, CAPTAIN A., Superintendent of the Pilot Establishment, Georgetown, British Guiana.

	1869	†DUNKIN, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Judge of the Supreme Court for Lower Canada, Knoulton, Quebec, Canada.
710	1880	DUNLOP, CHARLES E., Civil Service, Ceylon.
	1880	DUPONT, EVENOR, Port Louis, Mauritius.
	1879	EAGLES, EDWARD J.
	1879	EAGLESTONE, WILLIAM, Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	EAST, REV. D. J., Principal of Calabar College, Jamaica.
715	1879	EDGECOME, JOHN T., Ceylon.
	1873	EDGAR, J. D., Toronto, Canada.
	1878	EDWARDS, ARTHUR ELLIOTT, M.R.C.S.E., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
	1877	EDWARDS, HERBERT, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
	1874	†EDWARDS, DR. W. A., Port Louis, Mauritius.
720	1879	ELDRIDGE, HIS HONOUR C. M., President of Dominica, Government House, Dominica, West Indies.
	1880	ELLIOTT, HON. A. C., Victoria, British Columbia.
	1879	ELLIOTT, COLONEL JOHN, C.B., Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1876	†ELLIOT, WILLIAM THOMAS, Rockhampton, Queensland.
	1874	ERSKINE, HON. MAJOR D., Walwich Bay, Cape Colony.
725	1874	ESCOMBE, HARRY, Durban, Natal.
	1880	ESTOURGIES, LEOPOLD, Royal Observatory, Brussels, Belgium.
	1880	EVANS, FREDERICK, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
	1878	FAIRBAIRN, GEORGE, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
	1880	FAIRFAX, JOHN A., Sydney, New South Wales.
730	1877	†FARMER, WM. MORTIMER MAYNARD, M.L.A., J.P., Maynard Villa, Wynberg, Cape Colony.
	1876	FALLON, J. T., Albury, New South Wales.
	1877	FAUNTLEROY, ROBERT, J.P., Slipe Penn, Kingston, Jamaica.
	1880	FEGAN, J. C., Kingston, Jamaica.
	1880	FELTHAM, H. J., Cape of Good Hope Bank, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
735	1878	FENWICK, FAIRFAX, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.
	1879	FERGUSON, J., Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon.
	1880	FERGUSON, JAMES, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
	1880	FEURTADO, ALEXANDER, Kingston Post Office, Jamaica.
	1879	FIELD, EDMUND, J.P., Great Diamond, Demerara, British Guiana.
740	1880	FINLAYSON, J. FINLAY, Georgetown, British Guiana.
	1876	FINLAYSON, J. H., Adelaide, South Australia.
	1878	†FINNEMORE, ROBERT J., Master of the Supreme Court of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
	1880	FINNISS, J. H. S., M.D., Rose Hill, Mauritius.

Year of  
Election.

- 1877 FIRTH, HENRY ALOYSIUS, Emigration Agent for British Guiana,  
8, Garden Reach, Calcutta.
- 5 1878 FISCHER, C. F., M.D., F.L.S., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1876 FITZGERALD, HON. NICHOLAS, M.L.C., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1874 FITZGERALD, CHARLES (late 88th Foot and 1st West India Regiment).
- 1880 FITZGERALD, THOMAS P., Fraserburg, Cape Colony.
- 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., Town Clerk of Melbourne, Australia.
- o 1869 FITZHERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., M.H.R., Wellington, New  
Zealand.
- 1878 FLEMING, SANDFORD, C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the New-  
foundland Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways,  
Ottawa, Canada.
- 1875 FLOWER, JAMES, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1879 FOLKARD, ALFRED, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1879 FORD, DR., Melbourne, Australia.
- 5 1878 †FORSYTH, GEORGE ANDERSON, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1878 FORSEMAN, CHEVALIER, O.W.A., M.L.C., Consul General for Portugal,  
Potchefstroom, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1869 FORSYTH, WILLIAM L., Montreal, Canada.
- 1876 FORTESCUE, G., M.B., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1879 FOWLER, WILLIAM J., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- o 1876 FOX, SIR W., K.C.M.G., M.H.R., Crofton, Rangatekei, New Zealand.
- 1875 FRANCIS, HON. J. G., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1878 FRASER, HON. MALCOLM, M.L.C., Surveyor-General, Perth, West  
Australia.
- 1879 FRASER, ROBERT S., Kandanevura, Elkaduwa, Ceylon.
- 1879 †FRESSION, WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 5 1878 FYNNEY, F. B., Durban, Natal, South Africa.
- 1878 FYSE, HON. P. O., M.H.A., Hobart Town, Tasmania.
- 1879 GADD, JOSEPH, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1879 †GALLAGHER, DENIS M., Assistant Government Secretary, and  
Assistant Receiver General, Berbice, British Guiana.
- 1877 GARRAN, ANDREW, LL.D., Sydney, New South Wales.
- o 1868 GHINN, HENRY, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 GIBBONS, C. C., British Vice-Consul, Porto Rico, West Indies.
- 1875 GIBBS, S. M.
- 1876 †GILBERT, WILLIAM, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1879 GILES, THOMAS, J.P., Adelaide Club, South Australia.
- 5 1880 GILLIES, HON. MR. JUSTICE, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1877 GILLMOR, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES T., Clerk of the Legislative  
Assembly of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 †GILMORE, CAPTAIN G., Launceston, Tasmania.



- 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, Manchester, Jamaica.
- 1879 GODFREY, FREDERICK R., Melbourne, Australia.
- 780 1880 GOLDNEY, HON. J. TANKERVILLE, Attorney-General of the Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1880 GOLDSCHMIDT, ANTHONY, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1880 GOLDSCHMIDT, LUDWIG H., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1878 GOODE, CHARLES H., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1868 GOODLIFFE, FRANCIS G., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 785 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Heidelberg, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1869 GOODRICK, D. G., Durban, Natal.
- 1879 †GORDON, CHARLES, M.D., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 1876 GORDON, JOHN, Toronto, Canada.
- 1879 GORDON, J. MACKENZIE, M.B., Hay, New South Wales.
- 790 1878 GOYDER, GEORGE WOODROFFE, Surveyor General, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1873 GRAHAM, JOHN, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1880 GRANT, DR. C. SCOVELL, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
- 1879 GRANT, E. H., Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1877 GRANT, THOMAS HUNTER, Stadacona Bank, Quebec, Canada.
- 795 1880 GRANT, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1880 GRANT, WILLIAM, Durban, Natal.
- 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BULLEW.
- 1879 GREEN, CHARLES DE FREVILLE, District Commissioner, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1877 GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 800 1880 GREENACRE, B. W., M.L.C., Durban, Natal.
- 1880 GRIBBLE, J. D. B., Madras Civil Service, care of Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co., Madras, India.
- 1879 †GRICE, J., Messrs. Grice, Sumner & Co., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1875 GRIFFITH, HON. T. RISELY, Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- 1877 GRIFFITH, HON. W. BRANDFORD, C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, Lagos, West Africa.
- 805 1875 GURNEY, FRANK, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1878 GUTHRIE, CHARLES, London Chartered Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1877 †GZOWSKI, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. S. (A.D.C. to Her Majesty the Queen) Toronto, Canada.
- 1874 HADDON, F. W., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 HALCOMBE, ARTHUR F., Manager of the Manchester Block, Feilding, New Zealand.
- 810 1872 HALIBURTON, R. G., Q.C., Ottawa, Canada.
- 1879 HALL, E. HEPPLE, Canada.

Year of Election.	
1878	HALL, HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.L.C., Nassau, Bahamas.
1878	HANCOCK, HON. HENRY J. BURFORD, Chief Justice, Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
1880	HALKETT, CAPTAIN F. CRAIGIE, Levuka, Fiji.
815 1875	HARDY, C. BURTON, Adelaide, South Australia.
1878	HARLEY, COLONEL HON. R. W., C.B., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor of Grenada, West Indies.
1875	HART, LIONEL, British Sherbro, West Africa.
1878	HART, MONTAGUE P., Messrs. Hart Bros., British Sherbro', West Africa.
1879	HAWDON, C. G., Christchurch, New Zealand.
820 1878	HAY, WILLIAM, Melbourne, Australia.
1880	HAY, HENRY, Collindina, New South Wales.
1879	HAYTER, H. H., Government Statist, Melbourne, Australia.
1878	HAZELL, HON. JOHN H., M.L.C., St. Vincent, West Indies.
1878	HEATON, J. HENEAGE, Sydney, New South Wales.
825 1876	HECHLER, REV. PROFESSOR W. H., Carlsruhe, Baden, Germany.
1869	HELLMUTH, THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC, Lord Bishop of Huron, Norwood House, London, Canada.
1869	HENDERSON, JOSEPH, C.M.G., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
1875	HENNESSY, SIR JOHN POPE, K.C.M.G., Governor of Hong Kong.
1878	HETT, J. ROLAND, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Victoria, British Columbia.
830 1875	HEWAT, CAPTAIN J., Superintendent of the Cape Town Docks, Cape Colony.
1878	HICKSON, CAPTAIN R. M., President of the Virgin Islands, Tortolo, Virgin Islands, West Indies.
1878	HIDDINGH, DR. J., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
1878	HIGGINS, D. W., Victoria, British Columbia.
1880	†HILL, JAMES A., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
835 1872	HILL, HON. P. CARTERET, Colonial Secretary, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1876	HIND, PROFESSOR HENRY Y., Windsor, Nova Scotia.
1880	HOLMESTED, ERNEST A., Adelaide Station, Falkland Islands.
1879	HONIBALL, OSCAR D., M.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	HOOD, ALEXANDER, Merrang, Hexham, Victoria, Australia.
840 1879	HOWATSON, WILLIAM, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
1877	HUDSON, JOHN FRAZER, Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.
1875	HUGEL, ADOLPHE, Midland Railway of Canada, Port Hope, near Toronto, Canada.
1879	HUGGINS, HASTINGS C., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law, Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1875	HUGHES, HENRY KENT, Avenel, Adelaide, South Australia.
845 1880	HUGHES, COMMANDER R. J., R.N., Cape Town, Cape Colony.

- 1878 †HUGHES, W. W., Wallaroo, South Australia.
- 1878 HULL, HUGH MUNRO, Clerk of Parliament, Hobart Town, Tasmania  
(Corresponding Secretary).
- 1878 HUMAN, J. Z., M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
- 1880 HUMPHREYS, OCTAVIUS, Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court of  
the Leeward Islands, St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.
- 850 1872 HUNTINGTON, HON. L. S., Q.C., M.P., Montreal, Canada.
- 1879 HUTTON, WILLIAM P., Master and Registrar of the High Court,  
Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1878 HYAMS, ABRAHAM, Golden Spring, Jamaica.
- 1879 HYDE, FREDERICK W.
- 1879 IBBOTSON, CHARLES, Geelong, Victoria, Australia.
- 855 1879 INNISS, JAMES, Barbados, West Indies.
- 1874 IRVING, SIR HENRY T., K.C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad.
- 1879 IRVING, DR., Canterbury, New Zealand.
- 1880 ISHAM, ARTHUR C., Ceylon.
- 1879 JACKSON, DR. ANDREW C., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 860 1871 JACKSON, THOMAS WITTER, Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast Colony,  
Cape Coast Castle.
- 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape  
Colony.
- 1879 †JAMESON, JULIUS P., King William's Town, Cape Colony.
- 1872 †JENKINS, H. L., Indian Civil Service.
- 1874 JETTÉ, L. A., Montreal, Canada.
- 865 1876 JOHNSON, ALFRED W. WARLEIGH, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1876 JOHNSON, G. CUNNINGHAM, St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1876 JOHNSON, H. C. ROSS.
- 1879 JONES, ALBERT H., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1878 JONES, S. TWENTYMAN, Stanmore, Rindebosch, near Cape Town,  
Cape Colony.
- 870 1879 JONES, W. H., Bridgetown, Barbados.
- 1880 KAZIM ALI, Syyid, India.
- 1875 KEEFER, SAMUEL, C.E., Brooksville, Ontario, Canada.
- 1872 KELSEY, J. F., F.S.S., Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1877 KEMSLEY, JAMES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 875 1880 †KENNEDY, SIR ARTHUR E., K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of Queens-  
land, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1869 KER, ROBERT, Victoria, British Columbia (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1880 KER, THOMAS, Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies.
- 1869 KINGSMILL, JOHN JACHEREAU, County Judge, Walkerton, Ontario,  
Canada.

Year of Election.	
880	<p>1869 <b>KINGSMILL, NICOL</b>, Toronto, Canada.</p> <p>1878 <b>KNEVETT, J. S.</b>, British Columbia.</p> <p>1880 <b>KNIGHTS, B. T.</b>, Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.</p> <p>1878 <b>KNOX, EDWARD</b>, Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Sydney, New South Wales.</p> <p>1877 <b>KORTRIGHT, C. H.</b>, C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana, Georgetown, British Guiana.</p> <p>1876 †<b>KRIEL, REV. H. T.</b>, Ladysmith, Natal.</p>
885	<p>1878 <b>LABORDE, W. MELVILLE</b>, British Sherbro', West Africa.</p> <p>1878 <b>LA MOTHE, E. A.</b>, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.</p> <p>1875 <b>LANDALE, ROBERT</b>, Melbourne, Australia.</p> <p>1876 <b>LANDALE, WALTER</b>, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.</p> <p>1880 <b>LANGLOIS, JULES</b>, Port Louis, Mauritius.</p> <p>890 1878 <b>LARK, F. B.</b>, Sydney, New South Wales.</p> <p>1878 †<b>LARNACH, HON. WILLIAM J. M.</b>, C.M.G., The Camp, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand.</p> <p>1880 <b>LAYTON, A. L.</b>, Airy Hall, Essequibo, British Guiana.</p> <p>1875 <b>LEEB, P. G.</b>, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</p> <p>1877 <b>LEES, JAMES</b>, care of Messrs. Lees &amp; Moore, Oamaru, Otago, New Zealand.</p>
895	<p>1879 <b>LEES, JOHN</b>, Wanganui, New Zealand.</p> <p>1880 <b>LE MIÈRE, HIPPOLYTE, jun.</b>, Port Louis, Mauritius.</p> <p>1877 <b>LEMBERG, P.</b>, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.</p> <p>1880 <b>LENNOCK, G. R.</b>, King William's Town, Cape Colony.</p> <p>1869 <b>LEVY, CHARLES E.</b>, Quebec, Canada.</p> <p>900 1878 <b>LEVY, G. COLLINS</b>, C.M.G., Melbourne, Australia.</p> <p>1877 <b>LEVIN, W. H.</b>, Wellington, New Zealand.</p> <p>1880 <b>LEVY, AMOS D. C.</b>, Maua P.O., Jamaica.</p> <p>1878 <b>LEVY, GEORGE</b>, Kingston, Jamaica.</p> <p>1876 <b>LEWIS, HON. ALBERT, Q.C.</b>, Attorney-General, Tobago, West Indies.</p>
905	<p>1880 <b>LEWIS, N. E.</b>, Hobart Town, Tasmania.</p> <p>1880 <b>LITTLE, GEORGE, jun.</b>, Georgetown, British Guiana.</p> <p>1879 <b>LIVERSIDGE, PROFESSOR A.</b>, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Sydney, New South Wales.</p> <p>1880 <b>LOGAN, FRANCIS H.</b>, Newport P.O., Jamaica.</p> <p>1876 <b>LOGGIE, J. CRAIG</b>, C.M.G., Inspector-General of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.</p>
910	<p>1875 <b>LONGDEN, SIR JAMES R.</b>, K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon.</p> <p>1876 <b>LOUW, M. J.</b>, M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.</p> <p>1878 <b>LOVELL, DR. FRANCIS H.</b>, Port Louis, Mauritius.</p>

- 1879 LYELL, ANDREW, M.L.A., 46, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1880 LYNCH, EDWARD B., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 915 1879 LYNCH, JAMES A., Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies.
- 1868 LYNN, W. FRANK, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- 1879 LYONS, FRANK, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1880 MACDONALD, THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A., K.C.B., Ottawa, Canada.
- 1880 †MACDONALD, JOSEPH, Kilfera, New South Wales.
- 920 1875 MACDONALD, MURDO, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1873 MACDOUGALL, HON. WM., C.B., M.P., Toronto, Canada.
- 1879 MCCARTHY, JAMES D., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Lagos, West Africa.
- 1879 MCCULLOCH, WILLIAM, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1880 MCFARLAND, THOMAS, Nap Nap, Murrumbidgee River, New South Wales.
- 925 1877 †MCGIBBON, JAMES H. C. (Superintendent Cape Town Botanical Gardens), Holly Lodge, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1879 MACKENZIE, FRANK, Royal Mail Steam Ship Company.
- 1878 †MCLEAN, DOUGLAS, Marackakaho, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
- 1878 MCLEOD, CAPTAIN MURDOCH, Provost-Marshal, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1880 MACLEOD, NORMAN, Dunbula, Ceylon.
- 930 1875 McMASTER, ALEXANDER, Waikaura, Otago, New Zealand.
- 1871 McMURRAY, J. S., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.
- 1869 MACNAB, REV. DR., Rector of Darlington, Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada.
- 1877 MCNEILY, ALEXANDER J. W., M.H.A., St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1878 MACPHERSON, BRIGADIER-GENERAL HERBERT, V.C., C.B., Commanding at Mooltan, Punjab, India.
- 935 1881 †MACPHERSON, WILLIAM ROBERT, Devon Villa, St. Andrew, Jamaica.
- 1880 MAIN, GEORGE, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1879 MALABRE, WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1878 MANFORD, WILLIAM, Acting Auditor, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.
- 1879 MANOCKJEE, SETNA EDULJEE, Apollo House, Bombay, India.
- 940 1878 MARRAST, HON. LOUIS FERDINAND, M.L.C., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1880 MARTIN, THOMAS M., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1869 MASON, HENRY SLY, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1875 MARAIS, HON. P. J., M.L.C., Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1879 MARESCAUX, OSCAR, Manager of the Colonial Bank, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 945 1875 MARTIN EDWARD, care of J. G. Dougalty, Esq., Burke Street, Melbourne, Australia.

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- 1879 MARTIN, JOHN E., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1879 MASON, E. G. L., Colonial Bank, Berbice, British Guiana.
- 1879 MAWBY, A. M., Standard Bank, Calvinia, Cape Colony.
- 1880 MEIN, GEORGE A., M.D., Moolpan, New South Wales.
- 95° 1880 MELVILLE, GEORGE, Assistant Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1876 MENDES, W. FISHER, Colonial Bank, St. Kitt's, West Indies.
- 1878 MERCER, WILLIAM JAMES, C.E., Elmina, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1878 MERRIMAN, THE RIGHT REV. N. J., D.D., Lord Bishop of Grahams-town, Cape Colony.
- 1876 MEWRANT, LOUIS HENRY, J.P., Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Riversdale, Cape Colony.
- 955 1880 MILES, GEORGE, Stones Hope, Manchester, Jamaica.
- 1878 MILLER, JOHN LINDSAY, M.D., F.F.P.S., F.R.C.S., Launceston, Tasmania.
- 1874 †MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, C.M.G., Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1879 MILNE, SIR WILLIAM, President of the Legislative Council, Sunny-side, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1876 MILNER, HENRY, Natal, South Africa.
- 96° 1878 MITCHELL, LIEUT.-COLONEL HON. C.B.H., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 1877 MITCHELL, HON. SAMUEL, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1879 MOLONEY, CAPTAIN ALFRED, Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1873 MOLTENO, HON. J. C., M.L.A., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1875 MOODIE, THOMAS, M.L.A., Swellendam, Cape Colony.
- 965 1878 †MOORE, WILLIAM H., St. John's House, Antigua, West Indies.
- 1880 †MORGAN, M. C., The Bamboos, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1875 MORTLOCK, W. R., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1875 MOSENTHAL, JULIUS DE, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1880 MOYLAN, HON. G. K., Attorney-General, Grenada, West Indies.
- 97° 1878 MUGGERIDGE, ARTHUR L., General Post-Office, Buenos Ayres, South America.
- 1880 MURPHY, ALEXANDER D., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1880 MUNRO, ARCHIBALD, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1876 MUNRO, J. P. G., J.P., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1880 †MUNRO, JOHN, J.P., Bank of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
- 975 1877 †MUSGRAVE, SIR ANTHONY, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.
- 1875 NAIRN, CHARLES J., Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1875 NAIRN, JOHN, Pourerere, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1879 NATHAN, D. P., Kingston, Jamaica.

Year of  
Election.

- 1880 NEEDHAM, RODERICK FRASER, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
- 980 1875 †NELSON, FREDERICK, Havelock, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1880 NESBITT, MAJOR RICHARD A., C.M.R., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1875 NICHOLLS, KERRY, Queensland.
- 1879 NIGHTINGALE, PERCY, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Fraserburg, Cape Colony.
- 1876 NIND, PHILIP HENRY, Auditor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 985 1879 NITCH, GEORGE H., Manager Standard Bank, King William's Town, Cape Colony.
- 1878 NIVEN, LIEUT.-COLONEL KNOX ROWAN, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1879 NOBLE, JOHN, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1878 NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, Toronto, Canada.
- 1868 NORMANBY, THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G., Governor of Victoria.
- 990 1878 NORTH, FREDERICK W. W., F.G.S., Cape of Good Hope.
- 1879 NORTON, EDWIN, J.P., Grenada, West Indies.
- 1874 NOWLAN, JOHN, M.H.A., Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1880 NUNDY, E., M.D., Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1877 O'BRIEN, MAJOR W. E. BARRIE, Ontario, Canada.
- 995 1872 O'HALLORAN, J. S.
- 1876 O'MALLEY, HON. EDWARD L., Attorney-General, Hong Kong.
- 1875 ORGAS, P., M.D., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.
- 1879 †ORMOND, FRANCIS, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 ORPEN, FRANCIS H. S., Surveyor-General, Kimberley, Griqualand West, South Africa.
- 1000 1879 ORPEN, J. M., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.
- 1880 ORRETT, JOHN, Halfwaytree Post Office, St. Andrew, Jamaica.
- 1869 OUSELEY, LIEUT.-COLONEL RALPH, Bengal Staff Corps.
- 1879 †PADDON, JOHN, Barkly, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
- 1872 †PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1005 1872 PARKES, SIR HARRY S., K.C.B., Ambassador at the Court of Japan, Yedo.
- 1875 PARKER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Chief Justice, British Honduras.
- 1879 †PARSONS, CECIL, Bloomfield, Hamilton, Tasmania.
- 1880 †PAYNE, FREDERICK W., Jun., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1879 PAYNE, T. B., Maritimo, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1010 1878 PEACOCK, CALEB, J.P., M.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1877 †PEAROE, E., M.H.R., Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1873 PEARSE, BENJAMIN W., Fernwood, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1880 PELLEREAU, ETIENNE, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1880 PERCH, GEORGE, Colonial Bank, Bridgetown, Barbados.

Year of Election.	
1879	PERHAM, GEORGE W., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1878	PEROT, ADOLPHUS WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1880	PERRING, CHARLES, Canterbury, New Zealand.
1878	PETERSON, WILLIAM, 6, Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.
1879	PEYNADO, GEORGE J., Kingston, Jamaica.
1879	PHARAZYN, ROBERT, The Poplars, Wanganui, New Zealand.
1878	PHELPS, J. J., Qualmby, Tasmania, and Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Australia.
1871	PHILLIPPO, HIS HONOUR GEORGE, Chief Justice, Gibraltar.
1879	PHILLIPPO, J. C., M.D., Kingston, Jamaica.
1875	PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, Dry River Station, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
1878	PHILLIPS, HON. J. H., M.L.C., Belize, British Honduras.
1879	PIKE, CHARLES, Treasurer of Lagos, West Africa.
1871	PINE, SIR BENJAMIN, K.C.M.G.
1875	PINSENT, HIS HONOUR ROBERT J., Puisne Judge, St. John's, Newfoundland.
1878	PLUNKETT, EDMUND W., C.E., Digby, Nova Scotia.
1877	†POLLARD, WILLIAM B., C.E., Georgetown, British Guiana.
1879	POOLE, J. G., Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.
1876	POTTS, THOMAS, St. John, New Brunswick.
1880	POWELL, WILFRID, South Sea Islands.
1876	PRAED, ARTHUR CAMPBELL, Wellington, New Zealand.
1870	†PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, F.S.A. (Scot.), F.R.G.S., Montreal, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).
1872	PRESTOE, HENRY, Trinidad, West Indies.
1879	PROWSE, D. W., Q.C., St. John's, Newfoundland.
1879	QUIN, GEORGE, Worcester, Cape Colony.
1880	RADCLIFFE, REV. JOHN, Kingston P.O., Jamaica.
1880	RAWSON, CHARLES C., The Hollow, Mackay, Queensland.
1880	READ, HORATIO, Assistant Immigration Agent, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1877	REID, ALEXANDER, Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1878	REID, WILLIAM W., Member of the General Legislative Council, Leeward Islands, St. Kitt's, West Indies.
1876	REINECKER, BERNHARD HENRY, B.A., Auditor General, Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies.
1879	REVETT, RICHARD, Commodore of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's Fleet.
1874	RHIND, W. G., Bank of New South Wales, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.



	1880	RICHMOND, CAPTAIN H. F., Sierra Leone, West Africa.
	1878	RICHMOND, JAMES, New South Wales.
	1879	ROBERTS, WILLIAM, Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
1050	1876	ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER W., Ottawa Toorak, Victoria, Australia.
	1876	ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
	1879	ROBINSON, SIR WILLIAM C., K.C.M.G., Governor of Western Australia, Government House, Perth, West Australia.
	1878	ROBINSON, WILLIAM, C.M.G., Governor of the Bahamas, Government House, Nassau, Bahamas.
	1879	ROBINSON, C. A., Kingston, Jamaica.
1055	1869	ROBINSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. W., Rifle Brigade (Staff).
	1872	ROBINSON, CHRISTOPHER, Q.C., Beverley House, Toronto, Canada.
	1869	ROBINSON, JOHN, M.L.C., Durban, Natal.
	1878	ROGERS, MURRAY, Raymond Terrace, Hunter River, New South Wales.
	1879	ROLLAND, ADAM, Blackstone Hill Station, Otago, New Zealand.
1060	1876	ROLLESTON, CHRISTOPHER, C.M.G., Auditor-General, Sydney, New South Wales.
	1877	ROMILLY, ALFRED, Christchurch, New Zealand.
	1876	RONALD, R. B., Victoria, Australia.
	1878	RONALDSON, JOHN J., J.P., Clarendon, Jamaica.
	1875	ROWE, SIR SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., Governor of the West African Settlements.
1065	1871	RUSDEN, GEORGE W., Clerk of Parliament, Melbourne.
	1877	RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
	1877	RUSSELL, GEORGE, Sydney, New South Wales.
	1875	RUSSELL, H. C., Government Astronomer, Sydney, New South Wales.
	1876	RUSSELL, HON. HENRY ROBERT, M.L.C., Mount Herbert, Waipukurau, Napier, New Zealand.
1070	1878	RUSSELL, LOGAN, D. H., M.D., Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
	1875	RUSSELL, PHILIP, Carngham, Victoria, Australia.
	1878	RUSSELL, ROBERT, LL.B., Barrister, Government Park, near Spanish Town, Jamaica.
	1877	RUSSELL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM R., M.H.R., Flaxmere, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
	1878	RUSSELL, WILLIAM, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1075	1878	†ST. GEORGE, HENRY Q., Toronto, Canada, and Montpelier, France.
	1874	ST. JEAN, LE VISCOMTE SATJÉ, Castel-Nou, Py-Or, France.
	1874	SAMUEL, HON. SAUL, C.M.G., M.L.A., Postmaster-General, Sydney, New South Wales.

Year of  
Election.

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|     | 1878 | SANDERSON, JOHN, Durban, Natal.  |
|     | 1876 | SARJEANT, HENRY, Wanganui, New Zealand.  |
| 080 | 1879 | SARL, A. J., Colonial Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.  |
|     | 1877 | SAUER, J. W., M.L.A., Aliwal North, Cape Colony.   |
|     | 1880 | SAUNDERS, JOHN, Cape Town, Cape Colony.  |
|     | 1878 | SAWERS, JOHN, Manchester, Jamaica.   |
|     | 1878 | SCHOOLKS, HENRY R. PIPON, Attorney General, Belize, British Honduras.                            |
| 085 | 1876 | SCOTT, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.                                      |
|     | 1868 | †SCOTT, SIR J., K.C.M.G. (late Governor of British Guiana).                                      |
|     | 1879 | SEGRE, JOSEPH S., J.P., Savannah La Mar, Jamaica.  |
|     | 1871 | SEROCOLD, G. P., 48, Rue de Prince Albert, Boulogne, France.                                     |
|     | 1879 | †SEWELL, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., Trelawny, Jamaica.  |
| 090 | 1880 | SHAND, CHARLES ARTHUR, Titches Creek, Antigua, West Indies.                                      |
|     | 1879 | SHAND, JAMES WIDRINGTON, Henrietta House, Vacoas, Mauritius.                                     |
|     | 1876 | SHARPE, HENRY, Provost-Marshal, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.                              |
|     | 1876 | SHAW, MAJOR E. W., Indian Staff Corps, care of Messrs. King, King & Co., 6, Church Lane, Bombay. |
|     | 1869 | SHEPSTONE, SIR THEOPHILUS, K.C.M.G., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.                                    |
| 095 | 1869 | SHEPSTONE, THEOPHILUS, C.M.G., M.L.C., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.                                  |
|     | 1879 | SHERIFF, HON. R. FFRENCH, Attorney-General, Gibraltar.   |
|     | 1875 | SHERIFF, HON. W. MUSGRAVE, Attorney-General, Nassau, Bahamas.                                    |
|     | 1879 | SHERLOCK, R. J., Georgetown, British Guiana.   |
|     | 1880 | SHIPPARD, SIDNEY G. A., M.A., D.C.L., Judge of the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.      |
| 100 | 1876 | SIMMONS, CHARLES, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  |
|     | 1877 | SINMS, W. K., J.P., M.P., Adelaide, South Australia.   |
|     | 1880 | SIMPSON, J. M., Armidale, New South Wales.   |
|     | 1880 | SLOANE, ALEXANDER, Mulwala, New South Wales.   |
|     | 1875 | SMIDT, ABRAHAM DE, Surveyor-General, Cape Town, Cape Colony.                                     |
| 105 | 1878 | †SMITH, HON. DONALD A., M.P., Montreal, Canada.  |
|     | 1872 | SMITH, SIR FRANCIS, Chief Justice of Tasmania, Hobart Town.                                      |
|     | 1878 | SMITH, JAMES F., Barrister, Toronto, Canada.   |
|     | 1877 | SOLOMON, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., Kingston, Jamaica.   |
|     | 1876 | SOLOMON, HON. MICHAEL, M.L.C., Seville, St. Ann, Jamaica.  |
| 110 | 1879 | SOUTHGATE, J. J., Victoria, British Columbia.  |
|     | 1877 | †SPENCE, J. BRODIE, Adelaide, South Australia.   |
|     | 1870 | SPENSLEY, HOWARD, Chartered Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.                             |
|     | 1880 | SPOONER, JOHN C., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  |
|     | 1878 | STAHLSCHMIDT, THOS. LETT, Victoria, British Columbia.  |
| 115 | 1875 | STANFORD, J. F., Diamond Fields, South Africa.   |

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- 1874 STANFORD, ROBERT HARLEY, Kimberley, Griqualand West, South Africa.  
 1880 STEIBEL, GEORGE DEVON PENN, Kingston Post Office, Jamaica.  
 1880 STENT, SIDNEY, C.E., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.  
 1880 STEPHENS, HARROLD, F.R.G.S., Attorney-at-Law, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1120 1878 † STEPHENS, ROMEO, Montreal, Canada.  
 1879 STEPHENS, COLONEL W. F. (India), Post Office, Melbourne, Australia.  
 1880 STERN, M., F.R.C.S.E., Kingston, Jamaica.  
 1879 STIRLING, J. LAUNCELOT, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1879 STOKES, J. M., M.D., Millbourne, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1125 1879 STOTT, THOMAS, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  
 1880 STRUTT, DR., Melbourne, Australia.  
 1875 STUDHOLME, JOHN, Canterbury, New Zealand.  
 1879 STURT, E. P. S., Melbourne, Australia.  
 1876 SULLIVAN, A. F., Melbourne Club, Victoria, Australia.
- 1130 1879 TAIT, M. M., Cape of Good Hope.  
 1877 † TANNER, THOMAS, Havelock, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.  
 1879 TAYLOR, HON. E. B. A., Colonial Secretary, Nassau, Bahamas.  
 1880 TAYLOR, FENNINGS, Ottawa, Canada.  
 1872 † TENNANT, THE HON. SIR DAVID, M.L.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1135 1874 THIBANDEAU, ALFRED, Quebec, Canada.  
 1879 THOMSON, JAMES, Georgetown, British Guiana.  
 1878 THOMSON, MATTHEW C., Rockhampton, Queensland.  
 1874 THOMPSON, THOMAS, British Vice-Consul, Lorenzo Marques, Delagoa Bay, South Africa.  
 1872 THORNE, CORNELIUS, Shanghai, China.
- 1140 1875 TIFFIN, HENRY H., J.P., Napier, New Zealand.  
 1879 TOBIN, ANDREW, Wingadee, Balaclava, Melbourne, Australia.  
 1879 TOBIN, P. J., Wingadee Station, Coonamble, New South Wales.  
 1879 TOSSWILL, CAPTAIN, R.G.D., Canterbury, New Zealand.  
 1876 TROUPE, H. R., Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1145 1869 TRUTCH, HON. J. W., C.M.G., Victoria, British Columbia.  
 1877 TRAFFORD, G., Chief Justice, St. Vincent, West Indies.  
 1878 TRIMMER, FREDERICK, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1872 † TURNER, WILLIAM S., Chief Commissary of Taxation, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1878 UNIACKE, A.M., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1150 1879 VARLEY, JOHN, Stipendiary Magistrate, Kapunda, South Australia.  
 1875 VEITCH, DR. J. T., Penang, Straits Settlements.

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- 1880 VENDRYES, HENRY, Advocate, Kingston, Jamaica.  
1869 VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Melbourne.  
1877 VERLEY, LOUIS, Kingston, Jamaica.  
55 1879 VRIES, MAURICE DE, Pretoria, Transvaal, South Africa.  
1880 WALDRON, GERARD G. H., Kingston P.O., Jamaica.  
1880 WALDRON, JAMES L., J.P., Falkland Islands.  
1876 †WALKER, HON. EDWARD NOEL, M.L.C., Assistant Colonial Secretary, Kingston, Jamaica.  
1878 WALKER, MAJOR JOHN, London, Canada.  
60 1874 †WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., British Sherbro', West Africa.  
1879 WANT, R. C., Sydney, New South Wales.  
1879 WARD, CHARLES J., Kingston, Jamaica.  
1875 WARD, J. H., St. George's, Grenada, West Indies.  
1878 WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, Victoria, British Columbia.  
65 1879 †WARE, JOHN, Yalla-y-Poor, Victoria, Australia.  
1878 WARREN, FREDERICK WILLIAM, King Street, Kingston, Jamaica.  
1879 WATSON, E. G., Melbourne, Australia.  
1875 WATSON, THOMAS, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).  
1879 WATT, EDMUND, Civil Commissioner, Cape Coast, West Africa.  
70 1879 WATT, GEORGE, Urana Station, Urana, New South Wales.  
1880 WATT, J. PATON, M.D., Georgetown, British Guiana.  
1876 WATTS, HORACE, M.D., Stanley, Falkland Islands.  
1880 WEBB, GEORGE H. F., Q.C., Melbourne, Australia.  
1880 WEBB, HENRY B., London and South African Exploration Company, Kimberley, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.  
75 1880 WEGG, DR. JOHN A., Colreville, Spanish Town, Jamaica.  
1868 WELD, SIR FREDERICK A., K.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements, Singapore.  
1878 †WESTBY, EDMUND W., Pullitop and Buckaginga Station, New South Wales.  
1876 †WEST-ERSKINE, W.A.E., M.A., Adelaide, South Australia.  
1877 WESTMORLAND, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., Prospect, Annot's Bay, P.O., Jamaica.  
80 1880 WHARTON, HENRY, Highfield Station, Amuri, New Zealand.  
1879 WESTRUP, MAJOR CHARLES, New Zealand.  
1878 WHITE, ARNOLD.  
1880 WHITE, M. W., St. John's, Antigua, West Indies.  
1876 WHITEHEAD, PERCY, care of Messrs. Grant and Fradd, Durban, Natal.  
85 1875 WHITMAN, JAMES, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.  
1878 WHITMORE, HON. COLONEL, C.M.G., The Grange, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.

	1878	WHYHAM, WILLIAM H., Antigua, West Indies.
	1878	WIGLEY, JAMES F., J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
	1879	WILKS, JOHN, J.P., Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.
1190	1879	WILLIAMS, THE REV. FREDERICK H., D.D., Dean of Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
	1879	WILLIAMSON, GEORGE WALTER, Grenada, West Indies.
	1879	WILLIS, EDWARD, Koolonurt Nareen, Victoria, Australia.
	1876	WILMOT, ALEXANDER, J.P., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
	1875	WILSON, FREDERICK H., Cashmere, Canterbury, New Zealand.
1195	1878	WILSON, JOHN GEORGE HANNAY, Orion Downs, Queensland.
	1875	WILSON, HON. JOHN N., M.L.C., Napier, New Zealand.
	1879	†WILSON, SIR SAMUEL, Melbourne, Australia.
	1880	WILSON, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., Melbourne, Australia.
	1879	WILSON, W. W., Barrister-at-Law, Dunedin, New Zealand.
1200	1877	WING, EDGAR, Clairmont, Clarence Plains, near Hobart Town, Tasmania.
	1876	WINTON, ROBERT, St. John's, Newfoundland.
	1879	WOOD, GEORGE, JUN., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
	1879	WOOD, JOHN EDWIN, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
	1878	WOOD, READER GILSON, M.H.R., Auckland, New Zealand.
1205	1879	WRENFORDSLEY, HIS HONOR HENRY T., Chief Justice, Perth, West Australia.
	1872	WYATT, CAPTAIN (late Cape Mounted Rifles).
	1879	YOUNG, C. BURNEY, Adelaide, South Australia.
	1878	YOUNG, JESS, Adelaide, South Australia.
	1878	YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
1210	1878	†YOUNG, HON. WILLIAM, A.G., C.M.G., Government Secretary and Lieut.-Governor of British Guiana, Georgetown, British Guiana.

# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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## SESSION 1879-80.

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### FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session 1879-80 was held on Tuesday, November 25th, 1879, at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent-street. In the unavoidable absence of His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P., Chairman of Council, the chair was taken by the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., one of the Vice-Presidents. Amongst those present were the following:—

Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Commissary General Sir Edward Strickland, K.C.B.; Sir William C. F. Robinson, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements; Sir Charles Clifford, Professor Henry Smith, F.R.C.S.; Dr. Ford (Melbourne), Messrs. W. Moore Bell, F. D. Bird (Melbourne), W. H. Jones (Barbados), J. Vesey FitzGerald, Alexander Rivington, H. J. Le Cren, Alex. MacFarlan, W. Agnew Pope, James A. Youl, C.M.G.; F. A. Du Croz, T. S. Garraway (Barbados), John H. Fitt (Barbados), Samuel Bealey (New Zealand), Robert J. Bealey, Charles Guthrie, Harry S. Caldecott (Cape Colony), J. L. Bradfield, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), E. Manockjee Setna (Bombay), Frank Holt, A.R.A.; C. D. Buckler, Robert Scott (Trinidad), S. W. Silver, Hastings C. Huggins (British Guiana), General Seager, Rev. C. F. Stovin, Messrs. E. A. Pethe-  
rick, J. W. Willan, P. Capel Hanbury, Edmund Trimmer (South Australia) Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G. (late of Queensland), James Gilchrist (late of Sydney), J. D. Wood, Alexander Mair (Cape Colony), James Shearar, A. M. Mawby (Cape Colony), Andrew Lyell, M.L.A. (Melbourne), Edward Knox (New South Wales), A. R. Campbell-Johnston, T. Purvis Russell (New Zealand), P. N. Russell (Sydney), Walter Landale (Melbourne), G. Molineux, F. P. Labilliere, R. Giffen, Alfred Lloyd Hardy, G. W. Bennett, E. J. Watherston, F.S.S.; Campbell Foster, Q.C.; H. J. B. Darby, J. H. Mackay, J. W. Curtis (Canada), Dr. R. W. Gunn, Major-General R. W. Lowry, Messrs. Francis G. Heath, L. S. Christie, W. J. Campbell. E.

Sharpe, J. M. Dwight, Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Andrew, Mrs. McEwan, Messrs Robert Bruce Bell, Edward Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southlan, Claude H. Long and Miss Long, Mr. John Marshall and Miss Marshall, Miss Robin and Miss Bird, Captain William Parfitt, Messrs. B. Pelly, F. W. Hatchett, Catterson Smith, J. Travers, Charles Clarke, George Peacock (Cape Colony), B. Ryan, J. V. Irwin, James Caird, C.B., F.R.S.; Hyde Clarke, E. W. Brabrook, Alexander Turnbull (Jamaica), Mr. and Mrs. Wellesley Bourke (Jamaica), Miss Wellesley (Jamaica), Sir Edward W. Stafford, K.C.M.G.; Messrs. Howatson (Trinidad), Charles Brown (Cape Colony), John Rae, M.D., LL.D.; Cornelius Walford, Francis Turner, William Hemmant (Queensland), Thomas Briggs, H. C. Beeton (British Columbia), A. C. Beeton (British Columbia), W. Miller (Canada), J. Banks Taylor (China), E. A. Wallace, J. H. Mackay, Thomas Hamilton, J. S. Edge, John Courroux, John Marquis, Frank E. Metcalfe (New Zealand), Henry B. Dando, Mr. and Mrs. William Westgarth, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hally-Burton, Sir John Coode, Messrs. A. M. Hureille, R. W. Wilson, H. Moncrieff Paul, Charles Bischoff (British Columbia), Charles Bischoff (Ceylon), J. B. Morphew (Ceylon), Mr. F. A. Gwynne and Miss Gwynne, Messrs. W. H. Shepherd (New Zealand), W. H. J. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Deverell, Rev. A. Styleman Herring, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Fell, Messrs. W. W. Wilson (Victoria), J. Treeve Edgcome, W. G. Lardner, J. G. Poole (Cape Colony), James Hora, John Stent, J. H. Greathead (Cape Colony), A. H. Knight, Philip Stern, C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), Rev. J. Herbert Potter, Rev. W. Wood and Mrs. Wood, Rev. A. E. Bourne, Messrs. David Alex. Hume, William Jeffries, W. Adair, Ernest H. Gough, Philip de Bosson, James Edgcome, John Shrimpton, H. Harley, W. Manley, C. N. Follett, J. Macpherson, R. Greive, C. W. Plummer, Frederick Campbell, Walter Searle (Cape Colony), H. Burlton, J. H. Butler, Howard Pym, F. J. Crickway, Captain P. G. Craigie, Miss Young, Messrs. J. Standish Haly, John S. Prince (Cape Colony), Robert Hayden, James H. Crossman, W. Harris, C. F. Fischer, M.D. (New South Wales), T. M. Harrington, James Williamson, Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), Captain Bedford Pim, R.N., M.P.; Captain Foote, R.N.; Mrs. J. H. Fitt, Miss Appleton.

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the minutes of the Ninth Ordinary General Meeting of Session 1878-79, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last Ordinary General Meeting, June 10th, 99 Fellows had been elected, viz.:— 31 Resident, and 68 Non-Resident.

The Resident comprise—

A. W. Anderson, Esq., D. W. Bell, Esq., Herbert Brookes, Esq., W. J. Browne, Esq., Osbert Chadwick, Esq., C.E.; The Right Rev. Bishop Claughton, D.D.; W. Francis Cook, Esq., Edward Cooper, Esq., Alfred Domett, Esq., late Prime Minister and Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Zealand; H. W. Donnelly, Esq., J. H. Fitt, Esq., Nanda Lal Ghosh;

George Gray, Esq., H. A. Greig, Esq., Robert Hadfield, Esq., James Hora, Esq., Edward Keep, Esq., Andrew McIlwraith, Esq., William Miller, Esq., Sidney B. Montefiore, Esq., John Moreton, Esq., Captain William Parfitt E. A. Petherick, Esq., Edward Pharazyn, Esq., Murrel R. Robinson, Esq., Capt. A. Hamilton Russell, Alexander Sclanders, Esq., Philip Stern, Esq., Clement J. A. Ulcoq, Esq., Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New Zealand), D. K. Weatherly, Esq.

The Non-Resident Fellows consist of—

Douglas Alexander, Esq., Grenada; G. H. Alleyne, Esq., Barbados; A. H. Bartley, Esq., Demerara; G. C. Benson, Esq., Demerara; Hon. T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G., Vice-President of the Federal Council, Leeward Islands; E. H. Borman, Esq., Demerara; A. de Boucherville, Esq., Mauritius; J. L. Bradfield, M.L.A., Cape Colony; Henry L. Burke, Esq., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony; Henry S. Caldecott, Esq., Cape Colony; George Campbell, Esq., New South Wales; John Carfrae, Esq., Victoria; E. C. Close, Esq., New South Wales; Hon. H. F. Colthirst, M.L.C., Jamaica; H. H. Cornish, Esq., Demerara; Sidney Cuthbert, Esq., Natal; H. W. Da Costa, Esq., Jamaica; J. A. Dalziel, Esq., Demerara; John Doyley, Esq., St. Vincent; Col. John Elliott, C.B., Demerara; Alfred Folkard, Esq., Demerara; W. J. Fowler, Esq., Demerara; William Fresson, Esq., Demerara; J. O. Gadd, Esq., Cape Colony; Denis Gallagher, Esq., Demerara; F. R. Godfrey, Esq., Victoria; J. McKenzie Gordon, Esq., M.B., New South Wales; E. Hepple Hall, Esq., Canada; A. F. Halcombe, Esq., New Zealand; C. G. Hawdon, Esq., New Zealand; H. H. Hayter, Esq., Government Statist, Melbourne; O. D. Honiball, Esq., M.D., Demerara; Hastings C. Huggins, Esq., LL.D., Stipendiary Magistrate, Demerara; W. P. Hutton, Esq., Master and Registrar of the High Court, Griqualand West, South Africa; James Furniss, Esq., Barbados; Dr. Irving, New Zealand, Dr. Andrew Jackson, Cape Town; A. H. Jones, Esq., Jamaica; Frank Lyons, Esq., Jamaica; William Malabro, Esq., Jamaica; Eduljee Manockjee Setna, Bombay; Oscar Marescaux, Esq., Jamaica; E. G. L. Mason, Esq., Demerara; A. M. Mawby, Esq., Cape Colony; Sir William Milne, President of the Legislative Council, South Australia; Edwin Norton, Esq., Grenada; J. M. Orpen, Esq., M.L.A., Cape Colony; G. W. Perham, Esq., Demerara; G. J. Peynado, Esq., Jamaica; Robert Pharazyn, Esq., New Zealand; J. C. Phillips, Esq., Jamaica; J. G. Poole, Esq., Griqualand West, South Africa; Richard Revett, Esq., Commodore of the Royal Mail Steam Company's Fleet; Wm. Roberts, Esq., New South Wales; C. A. Robinson, Esq., Jamaica; Joseph S. Segré, Esq., Jamaica; Hon. R. French Sheriff, Attorney-General, Gibraltar; R. J. Sherlock, Esq., Demerara; John Varley, Esq., South Australia; Maurice de Vries, Esq., Transvaal; John Ware, Esq., Victoria; Major Charles Westrup, New Zealand; Rev. F. H. Williams, D.D., Dean of Grahamstown, Cape Colony; G. W. Williamson Esq., Grenada; W. W. Wilson, Esq., Victoria; George Wood, Esq., Cape Colony, J. E. Wood, Esq., Cape Colony; Hon. C. Burney Young, M.L.C., South Australia.



The HON. SECRETARY also announced that the following donations of books, maps, &c., had been presented to the Institute since the last Ordinary General Meeting :—

By the Government of British Columbia :

Journals and Sessional Papers, 1873-78 ; Journal of the Legislative Assembly, 1876-77-78 ; Consolidated Laws, 1877 ; Guide to British Columbia, 1877-78 ; Statistics, 1878-79 ; Bird's-eye View of Victoria, British Columbia.

By the Government of British Guiana :

Blue Book, 1878.

By the Government of Canada :

Census of Canada, 1870-71 : Blue Book, 1879 ; Sessional Papers, 1879 ; Journals of the House of Commons, 1879 ; Journals of the Senate, 1879 ; Dominion Annual Register and Review ; History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin, 1 vol., 1879 ; On Legislative Parliaments, by Fennings Taylor, 1879.

By the Government of Ceylon :

Blue Book, 1878.

By the Government of the Cape of Good Hope :

Blue Book, 1878.

By the Government of New Zealand :

Parliamentary Papers and Debates, 1878.

By the Government of Queensland :

Acts of Parliament, 1874-78 ; Hansard's, vols. 20-27, 1876-78.

By the Government of Tasmania :

Statistics of Tasmania ; Map of Tasmania.

By the Legislative Assembly of Ontario :

Sessional Papers, 1879 ; Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1879.

By the Agent-General for Victoria :

Statistical Reports of Victoria, 1877 ; Index to Statistical Register of Victoria ; Statistics of Friendly Societies, 1877.

By the Agent-General for New South Wales :

Blue Book, 1878.

By the Government Statist, Melbourne :

General Index and Contents of the Statistical Register of Victoria, 1877 ; Statistics of Friendly Societies, 1877.

By the Chamber of Commerce, Wellington :

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Chamber.

By the Chamber of Commerce, Port Elizabeth :

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Chamber.

By the Chamber of Commerce, Wolverhampton :

European and United States Tariffs, 1879.

By the Adelaide Philosophical Society :

Transactions and Proceedings of the Society, 1877-78.

- By the Smithsonian Institute, Washington :  
Annual Report of the Institute, 1877.
- By the Royal United Service Institute :  
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The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE, F.S.S., to read the following Paper :—

## EXTENDED COLONISATION A NECESSITY TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

The Paper which I have had the pleasure and privilege of preparing for this evening's meeting differs somewhat from those which are usually presented to the members of the Colonial Institute, inasmuch as it neither contains information respecting any portion of our Colonial Empire, nor does it treat of the subject from a Colonial point of view. It is the sequel to a series of papers read in other places on the trading condition and prospects of this country, out of which it would seem that there arises a necessity for action, with special reference to the advantages the Colonies offer as helps to the Parent state. Yet so closely are the interests of the children bound up with those of the parent, that whatever may prove to be for its welfare should also be the source or occasion of benefit to them. Some apology is needed from one who has so recently become a member of the Institute for attempting to deal with so wide and important a subject. I throw myself on your indulgence for the incomplete manner in which it is treated, with the full expectation that it may at least serve to promote a discussion that will have some influence in guiding public opinion, and, it may be, in invoking legislative action towards effecting the desired end.

I. The population of the United Kingdom in the year 1871, that in which the last census was taken, numbered 31,484,661. The estimated increase since that time has been 2,671,452, and a like rate of growth between this and 1881, when the next enumeration will take place, would give a further increase of 727,965, bringing up the total to very close upon 35 millions, for whom food, raiment, and shelter must necessarily be found. In 1871 there were 3,831,054 acres of land appropriated to the growth of wheat, the calculated produce of which being 53,620,000 cwts., was supplemented by importations from abroad to the extent of 43,810,000 cwts. Last year there were 3,881,701 acres, yielding, it is supposed, 55,850,000 cwts., and the foreign supplies were 58,760,000 cwts. This year the cultivation has been reduced to 3,056,428 acres, and it is probable that, owing to the bad harvest, the whole yield will not much exceed the half of last year's production ; whilst the foreign

importations have already reached to 57,000,000 cwts., and there are yet two months of the year to run. Mr. Caird puts the annual home produce at 55,000,000 cwts., and the quantity taken from abroad at an equal weight, thus giving 110,000,000 cwts. as the present consumption.

Other cereal products to some extent aid the supply of wheat, but, roughly speaking, these may be said to about compensate for the wheat devoted to other uses than that of human food; and some 8,000,000 cwts. of rice are imported, of which, however, only a portion is eaten.

Of meat it is supposed that 25,870,000 cwts. were raised in 1871, and an additional quantity of 3,960,000 cwts. imported. The same calculation gives 25,000,000 cwts. of home produce for last year, and 6,990,000 cwts. obtained from abroad. Butter and cheese may probably be taken at 3,000,000 cwts., both now and for 1871, and the milk consumed as equivalent to 6,000,000 cwts. more. Adding this to the meat may make the weight of home-raised animal food 34,000,000 cwts. Of foreign butter and cheese, including lard, the importations were 2,980,000 cwts. in 1871, and 4,580,000 cwts. in 1878; together affording a present annual weight of 89,000,000 cwts. of animal food furnished for the use of the whole population.

Potatoes are another important article of diet, of which probably 100,000,000 cwts. are usually grown at home, whilst the importations were, in 1871, 850,000 cwts., and in 1878, 8,745,000 cwts.

If we go back for another ten years to 1861 it will be seen that the population was then only 28,974,362, the importations of foreign wheat 36,260,000 cwts., of meat 1,810,000 cwts., of butter, &c. 2,010,000 cwts., and potatoes 112,374 cwts. There are no records from which it is practicable—very satisfactorily—to calculate the various home products for that year, but it may be assumed that there were no great variations from the present average amounts.

These several descriptions of food, however, have varying degrees of life-sustaining powers, according as they are rich or otherwise in the flesh-forming constituents they contain. For instance, it is generally admitted that 480 lbs. of wheat per annum are capable of supporting one person, whilst 550 lbs. of meat would be necessary for the same purpose, and that 10 lbs. of potatoes go no further than 1 lb. of wheat. In estimating, therefore, the extent to which the whole will avail in feeding our population, as well as in ascertaining the proportion in which we are dependent upon home and foreign supplies, it becomes necessary to reduce them to a common standard, and thus to express their worth as food in that of wheat. It

is not necessary here to show the several calculations. The basis on which these, as well as the estimates of quantities, rest, will be found in several papers by Mr. Caird, Mr. H. Thomson, and Dr. Playfair. Of their experience and judgment I availed myself in preparing a paper containing copious details, which will be found in the "Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society for 1877." Some extracts from the tables there given are appended to this paper, together with others from a recent treatise published by Mr. Caird, near the close of last year; and I may perhaps be allowed to appeal with some confidence to the figures set forth in my own paper when they are corroborated to so great an extent by the calculations of one who is justly deemed an authority in these matters.

Reducing, then, the other articles to their equivalents in wheat and adding the whole together, it will be seen that the two years 1871 and 1878 compare thus:—

	(In Million cwts. to two decimals.)			Per Cent.	
	Home.	Foreign.	Total.	Home.	Foreign.
1871.					
Wheat .....	53·62	43·31	96·93	55·32	44·68
Meat, .....equal to	22·16	3·45	25·61	86·53	13·47
Dairy produce do.	8·00	2·38	10·38	77·07	22·93
Potatoes .....do.	10·00	·09	10·09	99·11	·89
Wheat, value of total	94·	49·	143·	66·	34·
1878.					
Wheat .....	55·35	58·76	114·11	48·50	51·50
Meat, .....equal to	21·82	5·74	27·56	79·17	20·83
Dairy produce do.	8·99	3·72	11·72	68·26	31·74
Potatoes .....do.	10·00	·67	10·67	92·00	8·00
Wheat, value of total	95·	69·	164·	58·	42·

For 1861 the totals would probably be:—

96·	39·	135·	71·	29·
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Dividing these totals of 185, 148, and 164 million cwts. amongst the existing population, they would show a supply of nutriment equivalent to wheat for each individual of 522 lbs. in 1861; 512 lbs. in 1871; and 538 lbs. in 1878; or an average of 524 lbs. Allowing for the export in various forms of prepared food, of perhaps 5 per cent., and for some waste, this weight comes singularly near to the 480 lbs. computed to be necessary for each person, thus supporting the presumed accuracy of the calculations.

But besides these principal articles of food there are many others

of smaller importance—eggs, vegetables, fruit, &c.—both of home and foreign production, which aid in supporting life; and many, such as beverages, both alcoholic and other, without which, according to the habits of the people, life would be scarcely endurable. The former class is chiefly of home growth, although the foreign is rapidly increasing in relative importance. The latter are mostly of foreign production. These are not capable of being dealt with in quantities, as we have previously done with the staple articles, yet a comparison of their collected values at the two periods may be serviceable; always remembering that for specific dates the money value is not an altogether safe guide, because of fluctuations in prices. For a series of years they are safer. A table of these extracted from the paper already referred to, and continued to 1878, will be found at the end of this, together with one of a similar character taken from the Agricultural Statistics of the Board of Trade recently issued, which has this year for the first time thus grouped the various articles of food and shown their value.

The totals which the second of these tables (page 29) displays for the two years stand thus:—

(In Million pounds to two decimals.)

	1871.	1878.
Animal food.....	£23·53	£39·98
Cereals.....	42·60 or 30·86	60·11 or 47·11
Sugar, fruit, &c....	22·05	29·15
Beverages, alcoholic .....	9·39 or 21·13	7·84 or 20·84
„ other.....	9·40	12·08
Miscellaneous .....	11·03	17·84
	<u>£118·00</u>	<u>£107·00</u>

The corrected figures for cereal and alcoholic are the result of a deduction from the one and addition to the other of the value of the grain employed in distillation and brewing, thereby entirely changing its character.

Mr. Caird thus compares certain of the above articles for the past year with those of home growth:—

	Home.	Foreign.
Corn .....	£87·09	£51·79
Potatoes .....	16·65	75
Meat.....	67·00	22·05
Cheese and butter .....	13·50	14·00
	<u>£204·24</u>	<u>£88·59</u>



In one respect these figures fail to convey an accurate idea of the dependence upon foreign supplies, since a large portion of the home meat and dairy produce is fed upon imported corn and other food, or on grass and roots which owe much to the aid of the manures and chemicals included under the head of miscellaneous in my foreign estimate. It may not be too much to say that one-half of the two items, cereal and miscellaneous, say £88 millions, should be deducted from Mr. Caird's home estimate, thereby reducing the total to £166 millions—very nearly the amount at which the foreign supplies are valued by me.

Mr. Caird himself says in the book from which these particulars are quoted: "We now receive our bread in equal proportions from our own fields and those of the stranger;" and again: "This country thus derives from foreign lands not only half its bread and nearly one-fourth of its dairy produce, but must also depend on the foreigner for almost the entire addition that may be further required by an increase of its population." Nearly two years previously it had been stated by myself: "It may be safely inferred that our bread is equally of home and foreign origin;" and, "The conclusion thus arrived at would appear to be that for absolute sustenance we rely upon home and foreign produce in somewhere about the proportion of three to two fifths." Also: "On this computation, of the 38 million inhabitants of the United Kingdom, 18 millions may be sustained on food grown at home, and 15 millions on that received from abroad." Since that date the proportions have somewhat altered, with increased numbers and larger supplies.

Fortified by this concurrent testimony and the figures which have been adduced—at a length and in detail which must have been somewhat tedious, and would have been unnecessary but for the extreme importance of attaining to right conclusions on the subject—it is not too much to say that of the 35 millions which the next census will show as inhabiting these islands, at least 17 millions must be fed on food which is not produced at home. Furthermore, that if the present rate of increase continue—since the whole of it must rely upon foreign supplies—in another ten years (and such a term is not too long for our statesmen to forecast) the seventeen will have grown to twenty, and thus fully it is not more than one-half the inhabitants of the United Kingdom will be absolutely dependent for their existence upon foreign food.

II. If, then, the food produced at home suffices for the wants of little more than half its inhabitants, two questions arise: first, whether it is possible so to economise its use as to make it serve for

the sustenance of a larger number ; secondly, what probability there is of success in attempting to increase its amount.

There can be little or no doubt that the prosperity which marked our trading and manufacturing progress for many years has tended to much waste. Luxurious living on the part of the rich has in many ways led to the consumption or destruction of some amount of food, the distribution of which would have supported more lives, and in many households there is an actual waste which it is painful to observe whilst there is any real destitution in the land. The extremes of high and low living are far greater than they ought to be, yet it is pretty clear that any changes in this respect would but equalise consumption, since for those who consume unduly there are surely as many who suffer real deprivation or absolute want. We are not concerned now with the causes or the remedy, simply with the fact, and whether it have any bearing on the extent of available supplies. There is also an extravagant waste of food from ignorance, and indifference of and to the best kinds of food, the best mode of cooking it, and the proper seasons for its enjoyment ; but here, again, it is doubtful whether the diffusion of sound information or the adoption of right principles would produce any other result than equalisation. If there are many who are badly fed from misuse, there are surely as many who are underfed because what they have is not wholesome or sufficient. Adversity may enforce the judicious use of the food we possess, and it is certain that there is enough supplied, were it properly employed, to support vigorous life in all our people, but not more than may be beneficially consumed by the whole. The gain would be great in health and strength, and the prolongation of life, more than in any power to sustain a larger number. One exception, however, must be made to these remarks—they do not apply to the wasteful destruction of food by its conversion into alcoholic drink. A series of elaborate calculations show that during the twenty years ending with 1876, 584,000,000 cwts., giving an average of nearly 80,000,000 cwts. per annum of grain were thus converted into beer and spirits. A considerable portion of this would be wheat and oats, capable of direct application for human food—all of it might have been converted into meat and eggs for the same purpose. Chemists tell us that the actual amount of nutriment left when thus changed in its character is insignificant, and we are justified in assuming that as food the quantity thus destroyed would be ample to maintain healthy life at the very least in some 3,000,000 persons. Could a change to this extent only—which would still leave untouched all the imported alcoholic drinks—be effected in the drinking customs of our country.

this number might be transferred from the foreign to the home-supported portion of the population. Further than this, it does not appear that any better employment or more equal distribution of the existing home-raised food would assist the land in providing for the wants of those who occupy it.

The question whether any alterations in the conditions under which agricultural operations are carried on would enable the land to support a greater number, is one of much wider range, and involves, as does also the one we have just left, not only the possibility, but, still more, the probability of such changes being effected.

There are many who believe that amendment of the land laws would be followed by increased productiveness of the soil, because of the greater facilities which might be afforded for its profitable working, and hence the larger amount of capital which might be drawn to this class of investments. Granted that this would be the effect of the desired legislation, it does not therefore follow that a larger number of people would be thereby sustained. More would depend upon the kind of produce which would be raised in enlarged quantity. Of all the edibles for the growth of which our soils and climate are suited, the potato is that which will feed the greatest number per acre, but then the race it produces and sustains is deficient in power, and if measured not by numbers but by capacity for work it yields less than others. The legumes are coming into credit as admirably adapted for economically sustaining both life and strength, but, taken altogether, there is little likelihood that wheat will be deposed from its supremacy as the staff of life, whether from the weight which each acre will produce as compared with other descriptions of food, or from its fitness for man's consumption. Now, this is just the kind of crop which seems the most likely of all to be displaced by that of foreign growth. The acreage devoted to its cultivation has for years past been gradually diminishing, and the tendency of the present day is towards its restriction, if not its abandonment, as an article for the home farmer to raise. In 1871 there were 3,881,054 acres growing wheat, in 1879 only 3,056,428, and of this diminution 825,273 took place as between this and the last year. The throwing of land out of wheat culture into that of any other description of food, however desirable or profitable it may be for the cultivator, lessens the number per acre which it can feed. This is especially the case with a change from arable to grazing purposes, since for every acre of land on which wheat is grown, eight will be required to give the same amount of nourishment in the shape of meat. Fruit and vegetables, again, however desirable

it may be on the score of health and enjoyment to extend their use, will not contribute anything like the same degree of sustenance as would be afforded by the wheat of which they take the place. A prosperous and happy people will seek for more meat and green food, and be enabled to obtain more wheat from distant places, thus materially diminishing the sustaining power of the home soil.

Again, an increasing population and thriving trade absorb more land for the erection of buildings, the means of transit, and open spaces for recreation, all of which must be obtained at the expense of the food the land can bring forth. There is thus every reason to wish for a restriction in the extent of surface thus employed, unless indeed it can be obtained by the reclamation of that which is waste; and there is no reason to expect more will be done in this direction than will be absorbed in others.

It is as yet open to doubt whether high farming and improved machinery or modes of cultivation will hold their ground against the vast tracts of unoccupied land being every day rendered available in other countries, and the increased facilities for bringing their produce to our markets. If they do, it will almost certainly be by the production of such foods as need to be raised near at hand, which are just those that require the larger space for growth in proportion to their food-value.

There is one direction in which we are sadly deficient, namely, in not retaining and returning to the soil that which we have taken from it after its purpose has been served. True husbandry would teach that all refuse, whether animal or human, should be replaced rather than be sent to poison our water-courses and then be lost in the sea. Nature destroys nothing, simply changes its constitution; and with all the inorganic matter we are continually bringing to the surface, where it can, through the instrumentality of vegetable life, be organised, and all the organic matter we are continually bringing from abroad, our soil ought to be growing richer instead of poorer, and in this way be able to minister more largely to our wants.

On the whole, therefore, we cannot expect the life-sustaining capabilities of the land to increase. Unless continued adversity should drive us to the use of simpler food, there is little reason to expect that an actually larger amount of nutriment will be raised at home, but rather, every reason for believing that each succeeding year will diminish our power to support increasing numbers upon the food which our own islands are able to give us.

Nor are we better able, without resorting to the produce of other countries, to clothe than to feed our people. All the cotton,

as well as silk and jute, are of foreign growth, and so is a large proportion of the flax, leather, and wool employed in the manufacture of wearing apparel and household requisites. The following figures show the value, on an average of the past twelve years, of the imports of materials retained for use and manufacture, with the portion of them left after deduction of the estimated value contained in the exported articles, and the corresponding values of the home produce :—

(In Millions of pounds sterling to two decimals.)

	Foreign.		Home Produce.
	Imports.	Home Consumption.	
Cotton .....	£42·23	£9·72	£ nil.
Flax .....	5·16	3·02	2·00
Jute.....	2·47	2·19	nil.
Silk.....	15·18	12·40	nil.
Wool .....	15·55	5·06	8·50
	80·59	32·39	10·50

It thus appears that probably one-fourth only of the materials from which our clothing is manufactured are of home growth. For the erection of buildings and manufacture of furniture, we are more than ever compelled to use wood of foreign growth.

III. Before passing to the consideration of the sources from which the deficiency in our home supplies is met, we may briefly inquire whether there is any probability of lessened demands upon these supplies in coming years, or whether, in truth, the present rate of increase of consumers is not lower than we have every reason to expect it will be in the future.

Dr. Farr, in his report to the Registrar-General of the mortality in England during the ten years 1861-70, points out that in the healthy districts of England the annual deaths are only 17 to the 1,000 living; and though the number for the whole kingdom raises the average to 22 per 1,000, there is a gradual approximation to the lower rate, any excess over which "is not due to the mortality incident to human nature, but to foreign causes to be repelled, and by hygienic expedients conquered:" the overplus due to the operation of these preventible causes being 115,838 out of 479,450, or very nearly one-fourth. With the rapid spread of sounder views on subjects relating to health and the preservation of life, together with the greater attention now being paid to sanitary arrangements, it is not too much to hope that the diminution by death will be less than it has been; nor is it altogether Utopian to expect that the remarkable progress of public opinion in favour of temperance will not only liberate from destruction a consider-

able amount of food, but that the devotion of this food to its proper uses will tend to the conservation of life, and thus to swell the numbers for whom provision has to be made. Furthermore, if the nation is at all to advance in morality and religion, its rate of increase in population will assuredly not be thereby lowered. On every ground we may look that the causes at present in operation, and their probable extension, will lead to the multiplication rather than the diminution of the human species.

It is important here to notice that unless some means be found for adding to the number of those to whom agricultural operations furnish employment, whatever increase does take place in the population must all serve to swell the ranks of those who depend upon trading and manufacturing pursuits for their means of subsistence. Of the 31,484,661 enumerated at the last census, 2,989,154 are classified as agricultural, and 6,425,187 as industrial; these numbers including not only the actual workers, but also their wives, children, or other dependents. In the next census the industrial may probably amount to eight millions, if we include a fair proportion of the commercial class who have to deal with the products of industrial occupations. A growth of population at the same rate during the succeeding ten years would raise the number to twelve millions, requiring for their employment that every branch of manufacturing industry must be extended at least fifty per cent. The enormous surplus of goods thus created to seek for purchasers, would require our export trade to be doubled or trebled. Such an enlargement is quite within the bounds of possibility; but would it be so much for the prosperity of the country generally thus to convert it into one huge workshop, with all its attendant overcrowding and other evils at the seats of manufacture, rather than to disperse its inhabitants to found free and happy Colonial homes?

IV. The next stage, then, in our investigation must be into the methods by which those for whom our own soil fails to produce the needful food are supplied with this and the other necessities of life, and how far those or other methods are likely to continue sufficient for the present population, and to keep pace with its future growth.

It clearly matters little towards this end in what manner individual labour is employed, so long as its purpose is to procure what is required, and that this aim is realised. A ton of coal or of iron, though useless in itself as food, is of equal value to a hundred-weight of wheat or of meat, so long as the one is interchangeable

for the other; but loses all its value when this ceases. In the earlier stages of our commercial history, this country not only produced food enough for all its inhabitants, but had some to spare wherewith it could procure the various articles it chose to obtain from abroad; and up to the period when the food produced or retained at home sufficed for all who had to eat it, it was not their existence, but their comfort, their welfare, or their wealth which depended upon the continuance of the nation's trade. From the moment when it became necessary to make use of foreign food, it also became essential that our foreign trade should be made, and its extensior with the same rapidity as the population increased could alone save us from starvation. The following figures, taken from the official tables for the last twelve years, will show that our exports (of all articles) attained their maximum in 1872, and our imports not till 1877, so that between these years we had a continually increasing balance against us. Since 1878 both have been decreasing, the imports more than the exports, thus slightly decreasing the balance. Certain corrections, however, have to be made by deductions from the imports, because we do not really pay for them the whole sum at which they are valued on arrival; and additions to the exports, because we receive for them more than their cost on departure. It is well, therefore, to show side by side the official figures and the revised estimate. There is room for difference of opinion as to how far the revision given is correct, and much controversy has arisen on this subject, but substantially there is not much difference of variation amongst those who have given most attention to the calculations.

(In millions of £'s.)

OFFICIAL VALUES.		REVISED ESTIMATE.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports.
1867 .....	230 .....	181 .....	205 .....	188 .....	17
1868 .....	247 .....	180 .....	220 .....	187 .....	33
1869 .....	243 .....	190 .....	221 .....	196 .....	25
1870 .....	259 .....	199 .....	231 .....	207 .....	24
1871 .....	271 .....	223 .....	240 .....	230 .....	10
1872 .....	296 .....	256 .....	263 .....	266 .....	-3
1873 .....	315 .....	255 .....	281 .....	267 .....	14
1874 .....	312 .....	240 .....	278 .....	251 .....	27
1875 .....	316 .....	223 .....	281 .....	233 .....	48
1876 .....	319 .....	201 .....	284 .....	209 .....	75
1877 .....	341 .....	199 .....	304 .....	208 .....	86
1878 .....	316 .....	193 .....	281 .....	202 .....	79
1879* .....	288 .....	183 .....	256 .....	197 .....	59

\* This year has the two months of 1873 in place of the two months, November and December, not yet expired.

It was contended by the extreme school of political economists that the imports, however much in excess, must really be paid for by the exports, and therefore, that their magnitude only shows the profit that accrues from the exchange. But the events of the last few years, and the extreme depression of our trade, must surely show the fallacy of this theory. It is now generally admitted that we have been liquidating the balances against us by the sale of bonds and other securities accumulated in the times of our prosperity, and the recent rise in the Bank rate is due to the apprehension that America, from whom we are large purchasers, especially of food, whilst she buys little or nothing from us, having re-obtained possession of her bonds, &c., will now demand payment in gold.

Others, again, assert that the dividends and earnings accruing to this country from its Colonial and Foreign investments and trade are equivalent to the deficiency. There are no means of ascertaining even approximately to how much these receipts may amount; no doubt they are large, but it is more than probable that, as our Colonial investments are continually going on, very much of that which would otherwise be applicable to payment for our purchased imports is really expended on loans and goods invested abroad, and thus they become additions to our capital rather than disposable income.

The important bearing which these questions have upon the ability of this country to sustain its people by its foreign trade will be seen in the figures, which show how largely the increase in our imports arises from our purchases of food; this increase in the later years being really greater than it appears to be, on account of the low prices which have prevailed:—

(In millions of pounds sterling.)

1867 .....	101	1871 .....	118	1875 .....	157
1868 .....	105	1872 .....	136	1876 .....	159
1869 .....	106	1873 .....	147	1877 .....	177
1870 .....	100	1874 .....	143	1878 .....	167

It will be specially noted that whereas in 1867 our exports of British produce and manufacture exceeded our imports of food by £80,000,000, last year the excess was but £26,000,000, a sum quite insufficient to pay for the raw materials of foreign growth which are worked up into so large a portion of the manufactured goods we export. In short, that at the present time the whole products of the labour expended and the capital employed in British industries for exportation, fail to realise enough to pay for the food we import for consumption. Let the figures be examined and their import scrutinised in what way we will, the conclusion is



irresistibly forced upon us, that at the present moment England is unable to provide food for her people either from the produce of her own soil, or by the exchange of her manufactures and produce.

But it will be answered that these are times of universal depression ; the whole world is suffering as well as we. That we have a great advantage, in that the savings of the past will tide us over the time of ebb, and that a glorious flood of prosperity awaits us in the future. The reply is twofold. Even if it be true that others are suffering as well as we, it is not to the same extent, nor is it so likely to continue with them as with us. It is not to the same extent, for, with few exceptions, the trading and manufacturing interests in other countries are the minority, with us they are the majority. We are essentially a productive and commercial nation ; we have been the manufacturers for the world, but are every day becoming less exclusively so since others have discovered that they possess the same sources of mineral wealth as we do. They have increased in numbers and grown in wealth ; they have learnt by our experience, profited by our skill, are copying and improving upon our processes, and are determined no longer to be dependent upon us for that which they can produce for themselves. There may be some revival of trade ; let us welcome the gladdening symptoms which are showing themselves at the present moment, but not deceive ourselves by over-estimating their importance or believing that the inflation of 1872-8 is about to return. If the figures which have been produced, and the arguments by which they have been supported, are of any value, they can scarcely fail to establish the fact, that on financial grounds alone there is a necessity for extended emigration. We have hitherto been parting with thousands ; it must now be by hundreds of thousands, even if not by millions.

V. Weighty reasons also why an extensive emigration is necessary, are to be drawn from the social and moral condition in which large masses of our population are found to exist. The rapid and continuous expansion of our manufacturing concerns, together with the consequent growth of our trade, have caused a continual drain from the country, and the congregation of increasing numbers in the towns, which both on the sea-coasts and in the centres of industry, have been growing with unexampled rapidity. It is in these that the additions to the population mostly take place ; and to find employment year by year for those who are swelling the ranks of our artisans and labourers will require not only the

maintenance of our present trade and manufactures, but such an enlargement as the most sanguine can scarcely expect to see. The healthy arrangement of dwelling-houses, and the adoption of sanitary improvements, become more difficult in proportion to the density of the population congregated within limited areas, and demand an expenditure the burden of which has been unwillingly borne even in times of the greatest prosperity, and in adverse times becomes the occasion of much outcry from the ratepayers. The crowding together of large numbers, and the distance from open spaces and fresh air, have a most injurious effect upon both health and character. Something has been done of late by the widening of streets and the multiplication of breathing-grounds, but these require continued expenditure, and after all scarcely keep pace with the additional necessity. It is only those who make it their business to visit the haunts of the poor, and the homes of even the better class of our labouring population, who know the wretchedness of overcrowding, insufficient ventilation, and deficient means for the removal of refuse; or understand how these undermine the health and lower the moral standard of those who exist rather than live. To these are to be attributed most of the addiction to drink and the want of morality that fill our poor-houses and hospitals, our gaols and lunatic asylums. There are festering sores here which all our costly efforts fail to heal. There are hot-beds of vice, infidelity, and disaffection which may lie dormant whilst work is tolerably plentiful and wages reasonably good; but may become active under the strain of long-continued depression such as we have lately passed through, and from the recurrence of which we are by no means safe. We are wisely erecting schools, and giving better training to the young, but education, while it cannot cure these evils, will but render more dangerous to the welfare of society those who, lacking employment and suffering want, have every inducement to discontent and disloyalty. It is painful to think how much time and money, how much philanthropic effort and heartfelt sympathy, how much religious zeal and untiring energy, are absolutely wasted in merely palliating the evils they are powerless to overcome. It may be doubted whether anything but a general breaking up of associations such as extensive emigration would cause, will prevent the growth, and ultimately the manifestation, of such disorders as are utterly inconsistent with real national prosperity.

VI. Such being the condition of our agricultural and manufacturing industries at home, as well as of our trading relations with the

rest of the world, let us for a moment consider what would happen supposing that through some extraordinary convulsion of nature there were an upheaval in the Western Ocean of a cluster of islands, or even a whole continent, whose situation should be as contiguous to the shores of Ireland as the Emerald Isle itself is to the Mersey. Let us imagine further, that amongst these islands were to be found some with a tropical climate suited for the production of the sweets and the spices that we get from the East and the West; some with broad acres of pasture capable of supporting and fattening the cattle and sheep our Englishmen cannot well do without; others with the soil of California or Manitoba, bringing forth luxurious crops of wheat, and the various cereals without which we can scarcely live; others dotted with magnificent forest trees, or the humbler plants which, whether for food or medicine, minister so much to our needs, and furnish the raw materials from which we manufacture our clothing and drape our apartments; that in others, beneath the soil, or cropping to the surface, were seen minerals like those which constitute so large a portion of our wealth. Let us again conceive of these new-found lands as tenanted by flocks and herds, their rivers teeming with life, the air swarming with fowl and game, in fact, with every form of animated nature known to man, but all destitute of human beings, and thus waiting the advent of him for whose use they were all created. And that nothing might be wanting to complete the attractions of these favoured spots, that they had hills and mountains reaching to the very sky, sloping valleys stretching till they meet the sea, rolling rivers and sparkling fountains, sights and sounds and scents to satisfy all the senses and charm the most fastidious tastes. Would such places remain long unoccupied? Would not our surplus labourers rush thither to till the soil or gather its fruits, our capitalists find the means of transport, and our ships bring back their products? Would there not be a speedy exodus from our shores, till all at least who failed to find profitable employment here, had transferred themselves to such enticing spheres for labour and enjoyment?

Once again, let us suppose that an adjoining continent, possessing every natural advantage, had for its inhabitants multitudes already used to gaining their own food, but satisfied with scanty clothing and rude shelter; yet willing to be taught the arts of husbandry and tillage which would increase their produce, and to exchange these for better clothing and all the articles which natural or artificial want requires to be supplied with. Would not our manufacturers set their looms and forges at work to meet the

demands upon their stocks; our traders hasten to cultivate amicable relations with the several people, our men of money furnishing the means and sharing the profits of trade? Should we not, as our American brethren are doing, move on to the Far West?

Wherein, then, lies the difference between the picture which fancy draws, and that which our maps exhibit and our books of geography and travels show us; for we have, in truth, all these places in our possession, or easily attainable so soon as we need them? Simply in the distance by which they are separated from us? But surely this is far from being an insuperable obstacle. Australia is now almost as easily reached as Ireland was in the days when first colonised; and the passage scarcely costs more money than it did when vessels first traded thither. If it pays to bring bullocks across the Atlantic only to be slaughtered, it ought not to be unremunerative to transport human beings to places where they may work to repay the outlay. This outlay, too, it must be remembered, would all be spent in furnishing employment to our shipbuilders, clothiers, provision dealers, sailors, and other labourers. The only real loss is that of the time spent in the transit, and devoted to the first settlement. Once settled and thriving, those who go out will require supplies of clothing from our manufactories at home, and send in return food, &c., to support those who produce them.

One grave objection is often started—that emigration takes from us the wisest and the strongest, leaving behind the foolish and the feeble. This is a real difficulty, but if, on the one hand, we have inherited the wealth previously acquired, we must not, on the other, complain of the charges with which it is encumbered. Nor can we escape the evil by suffering those who might grow up wise and strong in homes of freedom and plenty, to become enfeebled and debased from overcrowding and want of food in their present abodes. Besides which, experience proves that those who are successful abroad do not forget the aged and the young whom they have left at home; they make large remittances for the support of parents, and the bringing out of the brothers and sisters when old enough to come. Hitherto many have looked forward to returning to spend their last days in the old country, and this will still be the case with the most fortunate; but when colonisation becomes more general it will be a permanent settlement for most, and it is well that it should be. Attachment to the mother-country may and will continue, but the centre of attraction to the majority will be the homes and the surroundings in the new country.

Colonisation will necessarily be of two kinds. The one that

which brings into cultivation unoccupied territories: this will absorb the larger number of emigrants. The other that which cultivates intercourse and trade with the uncivilised inhabitants in possession of lands which may yield us food; this will provide employment and sustenance for the greater number at home. Both should proceed simultaneously, and together not only lessen the population which may be superabundant, but also largely increase the power of the mother-country to support successive additions to its numbers.

There is a wide contrast between the advantage to be derived from the sending of emigrants to our own colonies and to foreign countries. Apart from all other considerations they are better customers in the one than they are in the other. The following figures, showing the values of our exports, prove that whilst our trade has been expanding to the first, it has been contracting to the latter. The value of British produce and manufacture exported since 1871 has been to—

(In million pounds to two decimals.)							Per Cent.		
	British Possessions.		Foreign Countries.		Total.	British.	Foreign.		
1871	.....	£51·25	.....	£171·82	.....	£223·07	.....	23·	77·
1872	.....	60·56	.....	195·70	.....	256·26	.....	24·	76·
1873	.....	66·33	.....	188·83	.....	255·16	.....	26·	74·
1874	.....	72·28	.....	167·28	.....	239·56	.....	30·	70·
1875	.....	71·09	.....	152·37	.....	223·46	.....	32·	68·
1876	.....	64·86	.....	135·78	.....	200·64	.....	32·	68·
1877	.....	69·92	.....	128·97	.....	198·89	.....	35·	65·
1878	.....	66·24	.....	126·61	.....	192·85	.....	34·	66·
		£522·53		£1,267·36		£1,789·89		29·	71·

Upon every ground, therefore, efforts should be made to direct the stream to our own possessions, and away from other countries, especially from those adopting hostile tariffs. We may then fairly claim and expect from our own Colonies the utter abandonment of all protective legislation, and the freest admission of our own products for the use of our own people.

VII. Thus far we have been treating the matter as one of compulsion, of stern necessity, enforcing upon the mother-country the duty of providing the necessaries of life for the children whom she can no longer feed from her own bosom, and for whom she has increasing difficulty in procuring supplies from extraneous sources. It requires no little courage to maintain these views in face of the revival of trade, which is at this time kindling the hopes of all save those who are immediately dependent on agricultural prosperity; but the truth still remains that a country,

depending so largely for the means of existence upon the proceeds of its foreign trade, cannot look with complacency upon an insufficiency in its exports, or be satisfied with diminishing sale of out-goings, accompanied by more extensive purchases of incomings. At present the additional cost of our food imports is fourfold that of our increased exports, and the artisan who gets fuller work or ampler wages has to pay far higher for the food he consumes. The recent activity in the trade of the United States is chiefly in its exports, the result of deficient crops on this side the Atlantic, which their abundance of wheat enables them to supply; and at the same time by their own increased consumption of dairy produce and other articles to raise the prices which we have hitherto paid. Anticipation of continued demands on our part are leading to the extension of their railway system, which brings them as customers to our markets, and hence the orders with which our manufacturers' books are filled. Should this continue it will furnish our people with means for the purchase of food, and thus support our trade; but it would be a great calamity should attention be diverted from the far more enduring basis of prosperity, which the extension of our Colonies is fitted to afford. The essential difference between our home and foreign or colonial trade must never be put out of sight. The employment of labour in the production of articles which minister to our comfort or enjoyment, and the distribution of wealth which it promotes, are results of the highest value; but so far as sustenance is concerned it does nothing to procure the supplies we need. It may be well to turn gold into stocks of iron or chemicals, but unless these are exported they cannot purchase more beef or bread than are raised at home.

The necessity of which we have been speaking might be received with alarm, were it not for the truth of the old adage that "necessity is the mother of invention." It is quite consonant with the Anglo-Saxon character to evolve prosperity from adverse conditions, to thrive best when combating trials and overcoming difficulties. Nowhere in this more clearly displayed than in the history of our American cousins. Necessity for economy of power has led them to become pre-eminent in the invention of labour-saving machines. Necessity for economy of money to repair the waste of intestine commotions, has led them to find out the value of patient self-denial, and of paying off the debt incurred in their time of trouble. Our necessities will become real blessings if they enable us to find out the real value of our Colonies, and in no respect greater than in teaching us the extreme importance of

maintaining and multiplying human life, as the surest method for the acquisition of wealth.

The question is often asked, wherein lies the source of wealth? The answer frequently given is that it comes from the soil. This is strictly true, though but in a limited sense. Gems and gold, the most precious substances derived from the soil, are only the representatives of real wealth, and this they owe to the trouble of obtaining them, or the scarcity in which they exist. Did the alchemy of nature produce them in profusion they would cease to be deemed wealth. Whatever of real worth is extracted from the soil owes its chief, if not its only, value to the labour which brings it forth.

Is labour, then, the source of wealth? Not altogether, for it may be expended in the destruction as well as creation of wealth; and wealth is often formed—as in the fruits which the earth spontaneously produces—without its agency. The true source of wealth is to be found in life, and life alone. Without life the earth would be barren and desolate, as it was in the remotest period to which history reaches, “without form and void.” Take the lowest form in which it is manifested, that of vegetable life. By its agency inert matter assumes the various forms and characteristics which make it capable of supporting the higher grades of life and furnish other substances of real wealth. In the next stage, animal life still further carries on the processes of conversion, until through the instrumentality of the living power inherent in man, the brain becomes fitted for the exercise of thought and power by the direct gift of the Creator, imparted when he became a living soul. It is by the exercise of these gifts through which man wields dominion over animate and inanimate nature that the higher forms of wealth are called into existence. In limiting life we lessen the production of wealth; by its preservation and multiplication, we may best increase our store of riches. We think and act thus with our fields and our flocks; ought it to be less true with respect to our families? There must be something radically wrong in our social or political condition when the words of Scripture, “happy is the man who has his quiver full of them,” cease to be true; and that wrong may be set right if we will only properly use the unbounded means for the support of life which our Colonial Possessions place within our grasp.

Two illustrations may serve to establish this proposition. The Registrar-General in his last annual report, after calculating the average earnings of each inhabitant of Great Britain, and likewise the average cost of his maintenance through life comes

to the conclusion that the money value of each is £159, this being the difference between the wages received or money earned, and that necessarily expended for the support of life. In the period which has elapsed since first accurate registration took place, the kingdom has parted with some eight million of its people, which Dr. Farr sets down as a money gift to the world of £1,400,000,000. Of these, some 2½ millions have settled in Colonies, and 5½ millions gone to the United States. Further than this, he considers that even in this country, under proper hygienic regulation, the rate of increase which is now 1·8 per cent. should be 1·8, so that the population, instead of doubling itself in fifty-five years, should do so in every thirty-nine.

It is to be regretted that the Colonial records afford very meagre information by which to judge of the relative rate at which the population increases from natural causes in the Colonies as contrasted with that at home. For the Australian Colonies the accounts of the last five years do show the numbers of births and deaths from which the increase can be ascertained, and thus compare with similar results obtained for the United Kingdom :—

(In millions to two decimals.)							
	United Kingdom.				Australia.		
	Pop.	Inc.	Per Cent.		Pop.	Inc.	Per Cent.
1873 .....	32·12	·43	1·33		2 12	·048	2·26
1874 .....	32·43	·42	1·30		2·23	·045	2·02
1875 .....	32·75	·39	1·18		2·33	·039	1·67
1876 .....	33·09	·48	1·44		2·41	·047	1·95
1877 .....	33·45	·49	1·45		2·52	·051	2·02
Total increase in five years U. K. 2,199,013 = 6·85 per cent.							
" " Australia 230,408 = 10·81 "							
Average annual rate of increase U. K. 1·34							
" " Australia 1·98							

The only available statistics from Canada though insufficient for arrival at any accurate conclusion, yet help to show that this superior rate of increase is not confined to Australia, but extends to other Colonies in a like manner.

To view this part of the subject in another aspect. Some calculations regarding the division and employments of the people of this country in 1877, which will be found in the Transactions of the British Association for that year, show that in the then circumstances of the United Kingdom some 40 per cent. of the actual workers supplied food for the whole population, and some 25 to 30 per cent. more other necessaries, leaving 30 to 35 per cent. free to provide the luxuries of life and to accumulate wealth. The fact



seems thus to be established that each individual life is, or ought to be, of actual money value to the State. Were it not so, there could be no growth of substance or wealth. In the earlier days of settling, no doubt the whole time of every worker needs be occupied in provision for daily wants; but after a short period there is more to spare for enjoyment or acquisition, than is possible in the old country with all its concentration of power and machinery for economising labour.

VIII. One other motive which should induce the mother-country to foster the further colonisation of her dependencies remains to be noticed—it is the sense of responsibility arising from the relationship in which she stands towards them. It is not only that her own soil fails to provide sufficient for the wants of her growing population; that there seems little likelihood of greater or improved cultivation increasing her produce to the necessary extent; that our manufacturing and trading operations, which have hitherto procured supplies from abroad, now fail to keep pace with the growth of those whom they have to support, and our producing power appears to be overtaking the demands of our customers. These are urgent reasons why we should send forth a large number of our people. It is not only that the conditions of existence which have grown up amongst us, the modes of life fostered alternately by inflated prosperity and seasons of depression, require the breaking up of many connections, the changing of many habits, the infusion of new life into the several classes of society; these offer many inducements to place our people in altered circumstances, and to surround them with new influences. Neither is it solely because by the diffusion of our people, the fresh start they may make and the development of multiplied life, there is much wealth to be gained. These are encouragements to the occupation of new lands and the enlargement of our intercourse with the natives occupying many of our possessions. It is that, above all these, there should be the conviction that we have solemn duties to perform and sacred trusts to execute.

If we trace the various means by which England has become lord of the vast territories which already own our Sovereign's sway, and those which it seems we cannot avoid acquiring—at one time by right of discovery, and another by that of conquest; at others for the purpose of restoring order or preserving peace; at one period in pursuance of selfish policy dictated by the greed of gain; at another from motives of the purest philanthropy and the most earnest desire to benefit those whom we have brought under control—we cannot fail to see that it is neither by accident nor

for useless ends that we have thus been led to appropriate so vast a portion of the earth's surface. Whatever our past policy may have been, we cannot ignore our present obligations, nor refuse to admit our responsibilities in the future. Whether for good or evil the burden rests upon us, and we cannot cast it off. The destinies of many nations are in our keeping, and the peopling of many countries at our disposal. If we have been enabled to settle our own freedom on a firm foundation, we have to secure the same liberty and to give the same relief to those who are as yet unable to claim, or unfit to exercise the full privileges of British subjects. If we have drawn to our shores the wealth created in our Colonies or obtained by trade from other nations, we have to employ our capital in fostering commerce and manufactures for their benefit. If we have arrived at so great a knowledge of, and obtained so great a mastery over, the powers by which the earth's products may be utilised, we have to impart these gifts to those who are yet in ignorance, and therefore in poverty. If we have joined the ends of the earth together for our own convenience, we have to unite the whole of our possessions together and to ourselves by yet closer links and more enduring ties. If we are in the enjoyment of all the comforts and benefits which a high state of civilisation confers, we have to train our dependents to secure the same advantages. If the principles and the practices of morality are to prevail, we must introduce them where they are unknown, and fill our lands with those who will aid in their propagation. If we ourselves are blessed with the light of religious truth, we must strive to cast the reflection of that light over the dark places of the earth, and seek to raise up a seed to serve Him by whom it has been bestowed. These are solemn duties we dare not decline ; glorious privileges we would not lose.

IX. It does not fall within the scope of this paper to discuss the various methods by which the desired ends may be attained. Its purpose is rather to prove the necessity which exists, and to stimulate all, home-residents and colonists alike, to determined efforts to meet that necessity. The times and the circumstances are every way favourable. At home we have the people, and the money wherewith to assist their removal. We have the ships to carry them, and the power to build more if wanted. We have capital seeking for investment, which may be advantageously employed either directly by its owners, or indirectly through the agency of public companies in making harbours, laying down railways, clearing lands, and building habitations in the colonies with far better hopes of success

than in many of the wild schemes in which we are so prone to embark. We have abundance of implements and tools for every description of agricultural, mining, and building operations, the manufacture of which would furnish immediate employment for many of our artisans, and give an impetus to many trades. We have been educating the young, so that they at least need not go out unprepared for entrance in new life. The ranks of every profession are over-filled, so that we have teachers—religious and secular—physicians, engineers, lawyers, clerks, together with farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, all in sufficient numbers to direct and care for the families and individuals who may cross the seas. Facilities exist and may be provided such as never before were to be found in so great a degree; and really nothing seems to stand in the way but want of knowledge, desire, and will.

In the Colonies there is abundance of unoccupied land, every variety of climate, every description of food and of material for clothing. Pioneers have gone forward to prepare the paths for those who are to come after them, so that there are few places in which friends and companions are not to be found; whilst postal and telegraph communications keep up constant and close intercourse with those who may be separated by wide continents or broad seas. In many of our possessions, and in other uncivilised parts which are ready for forming attachments with us, there are large bodies who would soon become our customers for merchandise and our growers of food, with whom a profitable trade will in time be developed, if only we send as settlers amongst them those who are prepared to cultivate amicable relations, rather than to extort from them the goods or the labour they have to give; to carry the gifts of civilisation, rather than those of the sword.

In former times two classes were disposed to emigrate—those whose spirit of enterprise and desire for wealth led them to brave hardships, in the hopes of returning home to spend their later days in ease and plenty; and those who, having misconducted themselves or otherwise broken down at home, found it desirable to seek new places to live in. Hence Colonial life was rude and rough. Few cared to become steady settlers, or to cultivate the comforts and happiness of home. These may still go out in considerable numbers, but we also want those who, with settled intention and hearty desire, change their country, but carry with them or speedily make permanent homes wherever they may go. The increasing numbers and the rapidity with which these are added to in newer countries forbid the expectation of return. The many must, once for all, transfer themselves to the fresh locality, seeking to

make it as much like the old one in everything that is good, and as much unlike it in everything that is ill, as they possibly can. The feeling must not be that of expatriation, but that of extending the borders of the fatherland.

This, too, should be the spirit to actuate the Home Government in all its relations with existing or yet to be formed Colonial possessions. All distinctions of laws and customs should be swept away, and the same principles and methods of rule should be adopted, or only withheld for a time in the case of untutored natives. Whatever institutions, religious, educational, scientific, or philanthropic, have been found to work well at home, should be founded, improved, and adapted to the special requirements of each place. Whether it would be possible to form an entire federal union of all parts of the British Empire, so as to have the same fiscal laws and regulations, is too wide a subject to be entered upon on this occasion; but there can be no question that if practicable it should be adopted, and if not altogether feasible, that no unnecessary obstacles should be placed in its way, or any departure from its spirit encouraged. If it be necessary for revenue purposes, on account of the different positions in which they are placed, to have different rates of duties on the importation of goods, they should undoubtedly differ as little as possible, and every attempt to establish Protection on either side as against the other be utterly repudiated.

It is the duty of the mother-country to set the example and exercise her authority for the general welfare, but it is also the duty of the children to follow and acquiesce in that which is for the benefit of both. The idea of separate interests or independence of each other is utterly inadmissible. The object on all sides should be to draw tighter the bonds of union, to weld every portion of our Dominions together into one harmonious whole, to make everyone within the bounds of the British Empire feel and act as an inhabitant of the *one* United Kingdom.

I have spoken of the necessity imposed upon the mother country that she should extend and perfect the colonisation of her numerous possessions, but is it not equally a necessity to those possessions that they should be fully colonised? She has more than an abundance; they, with few exceptions, a paucity of population. She is unable to raise her own food, they can raise more than they can consume. She has a plethora of wealth which seeks employment in foreign lands; they have need of more than she can give to develop their untold resources. She has the knowledge, the refinement, the treasures of art and science, accumulated in the

course of the years that are past ; they have yet to obtain these invaluable possessions in the years that are to come. The necessity is mutual : let both be gainers by its being met and supplied. These are considerations which can no longer be neglected or evaded. They force themselves upon us in our homes and our offices, in solitude and society, in the palace and the hovel ; they will tax our intellects and should lie near our hearts. When these sentiments prevail, and—presumptuous though it may be in me to say so—not till then, will there be any solid return of national prosperity. Whensoever they are held by the leaders of public opinion, and responded to alike by the voice of those at home and those in our colonies, the work will be viewed as the most important that can occupy public attention, and all together will join in its performance. Then the most important and influential member of the Government will not be the Minister who sits at the Home Office, not the one who presides over War, not even he who rules at the Exchequer, but the honoured individual into whose hands Her most Gracious Majesty commits the affairs of the Colonial Office

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## APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

Quantities of home-raised Wheat and Meat compared with Importations  
from abroad during the last twelve years.

(In millions cwts. to two decimals.)

Years.	Wheat.		Meat.	
	Home.	Foreign.	Home.	Foreign.
1867 .....	40·65	38·88	25·22	2·55
1868 .....	74·26	36·19	24·61	2·29
1869 .....	62·27	44·36	24·11	3·22
1870 .....	65·22	35·34	24·96	3·03
1871 .....	53·62	43·31	25·37	3·96
1872 .....	54·53	47·39	26·13	4·07
1873 .....	44·77	50·53	26·23	5·48
1874 .....	62·43	48·47	26·46	5·11
1875 .....	42·12	59·45	26·04	5·69
1876 .....	43·99	51·06	25·87	6·59
1877 .....	37·27	62·54	25·63	6·24
1878 .....	55·35	58·76	25·00	6·99
Total .....	636·48	576·28	305·63	55·27
Average .....	53·04	48·02	25·47	4·61

TABLE II.

Showing the total value of Food imported between 1859 and 1878, under the several heads of Animal and Cereal Food, Sugar, &c., and Beverages, Alcoholic and others.

(In millions of pounds sterling to two decimals.)

Year.	Popula- tion.	Total Value.	Animals.	Cereal.	Sugar, Fruit,&c.	Beverages.		Miscel- laneous.
						Alcoholic	Other.	
1859	28.59	56.00	6.77	18.24	14.83	3.69	6.59	5.88
1860	28.78	80.00	11.15	32.13	13.90	5.43	7.59	9.80
1861	28.97	82.00	12.46	35.94	15.62	5.07	7.25	5.66
1862	29.26	89.00	13.28	39.53	15.20	4.88	8.60	7.51
1863	29.43	79.00	14.01	26.99	15.15	5.51	10.39	6.95
1864	29.63	79.00	16.96	20.92	18.94	6.63	8.56	6.99
1865	29.86	78.00	20.05	21.28	15.30	4.96	8.83	7.58
1866	30.08	91.00	20.40	31.00	14.86	6.45	10.04	8.25
1867	30.33	101.00	17.28	42.67	16.31	7.78	9.20	7.76
1868	30.62	105.00	16.65	41.29	18.54	7.32	10.83	10.37
1869	30.91	106.00	21.37	39.61	19.45	7.34	9.22	9.01
1870	31.21	100.00	20.38	34.39	20.37	7.68	9.17	8.06
1871	31.51	118.00	23.53	42.60	22.05	9.39	9.40	11.03
1872	31.84	136.00	22.27	52.89	23.04	9.15	10.71	12.94
1873	32.12	147.00	28.41	52.69	27.06	10.75	10.64	17.45
1874	32.43	143.00	30.44	51.47	26.21	9.09	11.20	14.59
1875	32.75	157.00	34.14	54.74	27.34	9.48	13.26	18.04
1876	33.09	159.00	37.20	53.04	27.69	10.54	11.43	19.10
1877	33.45	177.00	35.62	65.29	35.98	9.50	13.00	17.61
1878	33.88	167.00	39.98	60.11	29.15	7.84	12.08	17.84
Total...		2,250.00	442.35	816.82	421.99	148.43	197.99	223.42
Average	30.94	112.50	22.12	40.84	21.10	7.43	9.89	11.12

TABLE III.

Values of Food Imports from 1859-78, arranged in Groups, as shown in Official Abstract of Agricultural Returns, prepared by Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade.

(In millions of pounds sterling to two decimals.)

Years.	Total Value.	Live Animals.	Meat, Cheese, &c.	Wheat and Flour.	Cereal, Sugar, Spices, &c.	Beverages.	Fruit and Vegetables.	Miscellaneous.
		I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.
1859	56.66	1.63	5.18	11.11	20.98	13.21	3.09	1.46
1860	78.79	2.12	9.05	20.87	25.45	16.06	2.93	2.31
1861	84.67	2.21	10.37	24.00	27.13	15.44	3.47	2.05
1862	91.00	1.89	11.82	28.59	24.47	18.21	3.60	2.42
1863	83.62	2.65	12.07	15.54	25.61	21.47	4.02	2.26
1864	82.83	4.28	13.08	13.51	25.61	20.63	3.61	2.08
1865	83.04	6.55	13.65	12.40	23.68	20.55	3.50	2.71
1866	94.63	5.84	14.98	16.78	28.06	22.70	3.79	2.53
1867	104.65	4.15	13.39	28.50	28.97	21.94	4.20	3.50
1868	98.13	2.70	14.17	24.90	33.77	15.38	4.64	2.57
1869	110.72	5.30	16.55	23.30	34.42	23.01	4.82	3.32
1870	106.42	4.66	16.19	19.65	35.75	23.53	4.27	2.87
1871	125.68	5.66	18.56	26.82	38.20	27.53	5.32	3.59
1872	141.53	4.39	19.85	30.26	47.93	28.77	7.96	2.87
1873	149.48	5.42	24.38	34.39	43.60	31.00	7.43	3.26
1874	147.20	5.26	26.33	30.92	45.69	28.72	7.10	3.18
1875	158.65	7.33	28.04	32.38	47.75	31.61	7.55	3.99
1876	158.77	7.26	31.45	27.92	49.25	30.81	8.77	3.31
1877	178.23	6.01	31.23	40.69	55.50	30.45	10.22	4.13
1878	167.86	7.45	33.98	34.22	50.97	28.08	9.48	3.18
TOTAL...	2,302.06	92.76	363.77	496.75	712.79	469.10	109.80	57.09

The above Table includes all Imported Produce, whether for Home Consumption or Export, and does not comprise articles such as Guano and Chemicals, employed in the production of Food.



TABLE IV.

Quantities and Values of Home and Foreign Agricultural Food Produce consumed annually, as estimated by Mr. Caird.\*

(In millions to two decimals.)

	Quantities.			Values.		
	Home.	Foreign.	Total.	Home.	Foreign.	Total.
	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	£	£	£
Wheat .....	55·00	55·00	110·00	32·19	32·19	64·38
Barley .....	44·00	11·00	55·00	19·80	4·95	24·75
Oats .....	64·00	12·00	76·00	28·80	5·40	34·20
Peas and Beans...	14·00	5·00	19·00	6·30	2·25	8·55
Indian Corn .....	—	20·00	20·00	—	7·00	7·00
Total Corn.....	177·00	103·00	280·00	87·09	51·79	138·88
Potatoes.....	111·00	5·00	116·00	16·65	·75	17·40
Meat, &c. ....	24·50	6·30	30·80	87·00	22·05	109·05
Cheese & Butter	8·00	3·10	6·10	13·50	14·00	27·50
Milk .....	—	—	—	26·00	—	26·00
				230·24	88·59	318·83

\* "The Landed Interest and its Supply of Food." By JAMES CAIRD, C.B., F.R.S. 1879.

## DISCUSSION.

Sir HENRY BARKLY: I have been requested since I came here to-night to say a few words to open the discussion; and, however incompetent I may feel to perform the duty properly, I feel bound to obey. We have all listened with great attention, and I may add with the deepest interest, to the exceptionally able paper just read by Mr. Bourne. For my part I must confess that I am one of those who are disposed to take a somewhat more sanguine view of the future prospects of this country than Mr. Bourne has taken; and I venture to hope that with average seasons and under ordinary conditions of commercial prosperity, both the agriculturists and the manufacturers of this country may be able to maintain competition with their foreign rivals; and more than that, even to produce, at very short notice, any supplies of food, or rather produce, that may be required owing to a failure of importations from abroad. But be this as it may, I most thoroughly and entirely and heartily concur with Mr. Bourne's view as to the absolute necessity at all times, and especially at such times as those through which we have been passing, of directing a constant stream of emigration from this country. I moreover believe that it is of the utmost importance to the mother-country that that stream of emigration should be directed to the British Colonies and not to foreign countries. (Hear, hear.) I cannot help thinking that if the resources of the British Colonies were better known, if it were understood what advantages were offered to intelligent and sober emigrants to go to the Canadian and Australian Colonies and South Africa, that there would be less necessity for papers of this kind, and that spontaneous emigration would be sufficient to maintain a healthy equilibrium in the labour market at home. (Hear, hear.) But we know that this is not so; and one of the principal functions of the Colonial Institute is to direct attention and to afford information on this subject of colonisation, and I trust the paper read to-night, and the discussion to follow, will tend materially to promote this object. (Hear, hear.) I will not detain you longer, for in fact I have little to add to what Mr. Bourne has so ably and eloquently said. I agree with him as to the necessity for colonisation; and I trust sincerely that the discussion to-night will be productive of the good intended, not only in this country, but in the Colonies also. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTGARTH said: The able lecturer has given us a very solid paper on this occasion; and I think, as Sir Henry Barkly has

said, we all agree with much the greater part of what he has presented to us. Sir Henry Barkly has also anticipated me as to that part of the lecturer's remarks in which I do not quite concur, viz. the somewhat lugubrious views which he takes of this country, both present and future, as compared with the past. Now the question in this case requires us to compare things as a whole ; and, if we put the position of this country now, compared with fifty years ago, the question is—Are we better or worse, as a whole ? I think the answer of everyone who considers the whole case will be, that we are better, and much better ; that we have a vastly greater power of capital ; that we have vastly more productive power ; a greater and more increasing trade throughout the world ; and are almost every way better than we were fifty years ago. There is a natural dread of future change. If any thoughtful person fifty years ago had presented to him the state of things that has arisen since that time, he would probably have been horrified at our utterly dependent position now for about one-half the necessaries of life. But we have become accustomed to that idea, and find we are actually better, taking all things together, than we were fifty years ago. Thus we do not dread the present, but, as before, we dread the future, and fear that a hundred years hence we shall be in difficulties. But experience should give us faith to believe that fifty or a hundred years hence we shall be better off still. So far I do not quite agree with the lecturer. I think he was rather needlessly despairing. But I think, too, that he rather put the matter comparatively ; and that we should promote emigration and colonisation because of the much greater progress made in the free Colonial field, and the greater value of our people, both to themselves and to the Empire, when placed in those free fields. That is the view I take of the Colonial question. The field we open in our Colonies is so much greater and more progressive than that at home. I will give you, in a few words, an example of the wonderful progress these Colonies make, so as to bear me out that promotion of emigration is advocated in a much wider sense than merely as regards the emigrant himself. The statistics of the Australian Colonies have just been received for the last year, 1878, and I notice that, in the case of South Australia, where there has been a good harvest, the export of wheat alone, after providing for home consumption, and as only one of a variety of products and exports, as wool, copper, &c., is stated to be 875,000 tons for the crop of this year. (Hear, hear.) Here is the single article of wheat in a comparatively small Colony, whose population is only 200,000 to

300,000, requiring 300 or 400 large vessels to take it to the underfed world outside. Again, the Colonies of Australia and New Zealand are now collectively sending us yearly 352 million pounds of wool, a quantity that would have seemed utterly incredible only a generation since, and that may well claim to clothe not only the population of England but of Europe. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, £37 1s. per head of the population was the present amount of Australasian trading, and a family—say a man with five children and his wife—would represent an import and export trading in those countries of about £260, giving them an importance far beyond possibilities in this country. I will speak, in conclusion, of the debts of these Colonies as a remarkable instance of the power of their well-doing. I see that the debt of New Zealand, for instance, amounts to £52 per head of the population. Easily borne, as it appears to be, if we only regard this debt as a test of power, it is extraordinary, for it is much above even the heavy debt per head in this country. Being quite a new country it is without the accumulated means of wealthy people, but is supported in its public finances by working and other classes, much alike in the general prosperity out there. And it is from the fact that all classes are so prosperous that this large amount of debt is so easily carried. (Hear, hear.)

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG: Sir, having for many years taken a deep interest in the question of colonisation, I am anxious to say one or two words on the subject of the paper under discussion this evening. All who have paid the most casual attention to the very able and argumentative paper which has been read, cannot fail to perceive that Mr. Bourne has made out a very strong case indeed for extensive colonisation as a necessity for the mother-country. (Hear, hear.) I confess that I am myself very much impressed with the arguments he has used. He has shown us that this is a question of food and of trade, and that it is one, therefore, of the deepest and greatest importance and concern to a country situated as Great Britain is. There is one point especially which I think deserves to be very seriously impressed on all our minds, and that is this, that our population does not stand still, but that we are increasing constantly and rapidly in that particular. It is a fact that we increase to the extent of between 800,000 and 400,000 persons per annum; and therefore we must perceive that, although we may have certain times of prosperity, and again of adversity, the periods of that alternating prosperity, when they arrive, are not likely always to be sufficient for the absorption in profitable employment of a very much larger additional number, when we come to con-

sider that we constantly have to deal with them as an increase to the population previously existing. Ten years ago I was an active member of a society which was called the National Emigration League. We were then passing through one of those periodical times of depression in our trade, which was succeeded by a time of unexampled prosperity afterwards. At that time I published a pamphlet on the subject of Emigration, a copy of which I hold in my hand, and at the head of it I inserted quotations from the works of two eminent writers which I think are quite as true and as applicable now as at the time I refer to. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Mr. John Stuart Mill are the writers I allude to. Mr. Wakefield says this, which, although uttered some thirty years ago, is as fully suited to the present time as it was then: "It is necessary, and very interesting to observe that colonisation has a tendency to increase employment for capital and labour at home. When a Hampshire peasant emigrates to Australia he very likely enables an operative to live in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Besides making food in the Colony for himself, he makes some more to send home for the manufacturer, who, in his turn, makes clothes and implements for the colonists." Mr. John Stuart Mill says: "There need be no hesitation in affirming that colonisation, in the present state of the world, is the very best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage." Now the opinions of these great thinkers are most important for us to recollect, for we all say this question of encouraging extensive colonisation is one of money. (Hear, hear.) Mr. John Stuart Mill especially teaches us that it is a most profitable national investment of money. It is necessary that the people of this country should take this matter into their serious consideration, and not be alarmed at the cost of thousands or even millions sterling that may be spent in emigration, for it will return tenfold profit to those who spend it. I am glad to see that Mr. Bourne does not hesitate to say that we must think of the subject in this way, that we must consider that, though we have hitherto gone out from the mother-country in thousands, we may have to consider it necessary to do so in future, not by thousands only, but by hundreds of thousands, and even perhaps by millions. This is one of those considerations we must be prepared to face, and that, I think, we ought never to lose sight of in this country. (Hear, hear.) Having expressed myself as a most thorough believer in all the views that have been so ably put forth to-night in Mr. Bourne's paper, I shall now content myself with expressing a hope that the meeting will be as convinced as I am myself, that an

extensive and sound system of emigration from this country to the Colonies is necessary in order to make it as great a success and advantage to both of them as I am convinced it ought to be. (Cheers.)

Mr. PHILIP C. HANBURY: Having come back about a month ago from a short trip across the Atlantic, I shall be pleased to make a few remarks on the paper. My thoughts revert to Canada, where I spent a pleasant visit. I feel the importance of this subject; and with regard to Manitoba, the great North-Western Province of Canada, though I had not time to go there, I heard a good deal about it from people who had been there; and in Toronto a gentleman well known there said to me that he was sure that there was a good opening for the English tenant farmer, if he would come out with £5,000 to £6,000. With regard to emigration, I believe that Imperial and national emigration is the way in which emigration should be carried on for the future. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the other matters of this paper, which is a most excellent one, and one of the best I ever heard, I cannot help expressing a few opinions on the points that are referred to, especially as efforts are being made to direct the stream of emigration away from our own country. Only about a week ago I read a letter from our excellent Hon. Secretary, in which he said what we Englishmen should do is, we should go out to our Colonies instead of to foreign countries, which I cordially agree with, and I am quite sure that in that great province, Manitoba, there is a splendid future, and it will eventually be a great help to alleviate the agricultural depression now going on in the mother-country. With regard to the other points in the paper, especially that one Mr. Bourne dealt with as to "whether it would be possible to form a Federal Union in all parts of the British Empire, &c.," I only wish to say this, that the last evening I spent in Canada was spent at Quebec in company of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier, who is one of the ablest Colonial Ministers we have, and he told me he was in favour of an Imperial tariff union, which, if accomplished, would go a great way to carry out what Mr. Bourne has expressed in his paper. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BIGGS: The first thing I have to observe is this, that the paper is a very able one, but does not go to the root of the thing. Speaking of emigration to the Colonies rather than to foreign countries, the first condition of success in getting that done has never been yet granted. We have to consider what provision there is made for a home in our Colonies before we can expect our population to drift there rather than to America. America has

provided a homestead law, which enables her to cut and carve out of the wilderness no less than 60,000 homesteads every year; and makes about 10,000 miles of railways every year. How does it enable her to do that, whilst our Colonies have been standing still, or comparatively so? because she has a homestead law that attracts the whole surplus population of Europe. Now, some people say that America has Protective duties, and see how she flourishes. But they forget that there are other things which will make America flourish, viz. the 60,000 homesteads and the 10,000 miles of railways, rendering easy transit for all the produce from the same, in spite of all their protective duties, the baneful effects of which are now being found out, even by the Americans themselves, and when they make a clean sweep of these fiscal tariffs, neither the Colonies nor the mother-country will be able to withstand the power of such a homestead law as they have got for bringing thrifty men and women to build their cities, to make their railways, cultivate their soil, and render them able to beat the people of Great Britain in producing an abundance of good things. Mr. Cobden said that "he who abolishes Customs and Excise duties would be the greatest benefactor of this or any other country." (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. Bourne asks whether it would be possible to form a Federal Union in all parts of the British Empire, so as to have the same local laws and regulations? This is too wide a subject to be entered upon now. But there is no question that if practicable it should be adopted, and no obstacle placed in the way of its achievement. In my fifty years' reading I have never been able to get away from the fact that fiscal duties are the bane of society, both in the mother-country and the Colonies, and I yield to no one in my love for our Colonies, and I wish to see the Colonies receive all those thrifty hands and good heads which go to America. (Hear, hear.) Now, the bond of union between Great Britain and her Colonies is just this—absolute freedom of trade. (Hear, hear.) You need not say another word to grasp the whole subject—(hear, hear)—because absolute free trade between Great Britain and her Colonies is the first condition of *universal* free trade, and the first condition of universal peace is universal free trade. I have a good deal in my head, but I cannot get it out—(laughter)—the reason is very obvious, that you crowd a lot of things into your head and have only a minute or two to get them out. (Laughter.) That being the case, I have asked our Hon. Secretary to get me the position of our worthy friend, Mr. Bourne, for me to read a paper. (Laughter.) Then you will get all that is in my head. (Much laughter.)

Mr. CORNELIUS WALFORD: I must plead guilty to saying that I am a little disappointed at the tone the discussion has taken on the learned paper to-night. The gist of that paper is that it would be in the interest of our country if some 11,000,000 persons were to emigrate from these shores to others more congenial to them. There is one little point which strikes one at first, and that is, that if every man here is worth £159 to the nation, we should get rid of a great many millions of money by this transfer; and I will leave it to my friend to get over that, and to Mr. Briggs, who has got so much in his head, to consider this aspect of the case. (Laughter.) We do not want to have advertisements from the representatives of different Colonies as to which it is best to go to; but we want absolute facts from independent sources as to where those men would find an honest livelihood if they went, and which of those men are fit for emigration. My experience of the last two months on this question, is—and I have been many times out to Canada, and this time into the Manitoba region—that if men who can face every hardship under the sun, and settle down in log huts, build roads and wait till bridges are constructed, and stand all the hardships of Colonial life—to such men I say, let them go to Manitoba. If the 11,000,000 recommended to go from this country could find themselves settling down and thriving under such conditions, and assuming that they could get there and plant themselves in that country, the next point arises, what are they to do? They are to raise grain, it is said; but what are they to do with it? I have made many inquiries on the question, and I am satisfied that the emigration going on to Manitoba is an illusion in this way, that there would not be for years the means to get out of that country the grain which is to be grown there. The railway communication has not been made—it is happily in course of construction—water communication is not ready, and I say that those who advocate wholesale emigration to Manitoba to cultivate the soil make a great mistake. I left Canada three weeks ago. I had been making careful inquiries as to the operation of high prices of grain on the agriculture of Canada, and I found that something like 40 per cent. more of the territory had been planted this fall than was planted at the last, and if with spring planting the same thing takes place, I say that grain would be a drug in the market, and that those who are sent out to Manitoba to cultivate the ground would make an entire mistake in my judgment. Going out upon the steamer I made it my business to ascertain, as there were many emigrants on board, where these men were going to, what money they had, and what their occupations had been at home; and I can say that there was hardly one in ten



of those person going to Canada that was in any way suited for the occupation or the pursuits they were going to follow. There were some amongst them who had been farm-bailiffs, and who would thrive anywhere ; but the great majority of these men were men who had been commercial men, bankers' clerks, and the very last men who should be sent out to follow a hard-working agricultural life, and I say that if you advocated unconditional emigration without making this point clear, you are creating a manifest wrong to the men you would send there. (Hear, hear.) The men wanted in Manitoba are those who can build houses and bridges and cultivate the soil, but not the clerks, who can keep your books ; not those persons who have been employed in unproductive labour at home. Notwithstanding the rise in prices for grain, I found that there was a great paucity of money in many of the agricultural districts of Canada, and I found that many of the apparently well-to-farmers had no money ; the land was their own ; they had all they required to eat and to drink ; but when you came to talk about wealth, to promote manufacture, they had no money to spare for such objects. Besides, what has Canada done for us in the matter of helping our manufacturers ? She has put a Protective duty on the goods of this country. If your Colonies are going to do that, how are they going to realise the dream of my friend Mr. Bourne ? Are they not shutting the doors in our face ? I say that if we could get the dream realised which Mr. Bourne has worked out, surrounded as it is by the philanthropic deductions he brings to bear, yet when you come to examine the difficulties involved face to face, that this wholesale emigration would be a large failure, I beg you to think over this before you commit yourself to this scheme, so eloquently shadowed forth by my friend. (Cheers.) One word more. Notwithstanding all I have felt it my duty to say on this occasion, I have a deep desire to see Canada flourish, as indeed all our Colonies ; and I think that if those who go there with money would buy farms, say on Lake Ontario, and let those who now own these go further west, as many of them gladly would, much good might result to all parties concerned. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. E. J. WATHERSTON : Mr. Bourne has contributed another to the many thoughtful papers which he has read from time to time upon the subject of the depression of British commerce. I am reminded, as I have often been before, of the remarks of M. Bastiat, who, in one of his earlier essays, said how astonished he was with the mental shortsightedness of most men, even of those who occupy themselves with abstract subjects, such as investigations about trade and commerce :—" They examine months when they should look to

years, and years when they ought to take generations into account." Mr. Bourne tells us a great deal about the comparative state of accounts during the past few years, from which he concludes that the sun has set upon British commerce, and that we are going down the hill, so to speak, and that nationally we must look to emigration for the means of our future existence. Now, as a manufacturer, I must acknowledge that I regard emigration with the greatest possible alarm. (Oh, oh.) I take it that the best men leave the country, and leave the worst behind. That is what is found to be the case in my own trade. I find that the most skilful watchmakers, engravers, and silversmiths go, and leave behind them second-class men, from whom I have great difficulty in getting a living. But there is a serious point in regard to this question; Mr. Bourne tells us that the land is incapable of producing food for the number of mouths that now exist, and for those who may be presumed to exist in a few years. I am one of those who think with Lord Derby, that when the land laws are altered, there will be a large amount of land released, out of which we shall be able to get more food for the people. That is an important point; but there are other points with regard to emigration and the amount of food consumed. It is true that our exports are decreasing, and that our imports are increasing to an alarming extent; but there is another fact which we ought to bear in mind. We want more education—(hear, hear)—and when our working men are better educated we shall have more to export, and shall doubtless be able to purchase more imports with the goods which we shall then be able to make. It is a sad fact that we are obliged to import £500,000 worth of cheap watches every year, because our people cannot make them; that all our artistic work is coming from abroad, and that even silk ribbons can be imported into Coventry, which our own people, through ignorance, cannot make. These are facts which teach us to work better at home, to get more out of the land, the source of wealth. I know something about our Colonies, and I say it is a great mistake to suppose that colonists desire our surplus population sent over to them. (No! no! and cries of "New Zealand!") It amounts to this: our friend Mr. Bourne has, to my mind, fallen into a great error, because he has treated the Colonies from a sentimental point of view, whereas there is none of that whatever with regard to the Colonies in relation to this country. It is not to be supposed that people who go out from this country long retain their love of home. (Oh!) Individuals may, but their descendants do not. A man born in Australia, whose grandfather or great-grandfather went out from

this country, cares no more about the country than I care for South America. (Expressions of dissent.) I have been all over Canada. There is not an English paper read in Canada, with one or two exceptions, perhaps in Toronto or Montreal. (No! no!) I say that Australians care nothing whatever for this country. (No! no!) They simply care for the expansion of their own trade. Quite rightly, too, from their point of view. If I were an Australian, I am sure of this—there is nothing I should love more than the land of my birth, and I should do all I could for the development of its trade. It is different in India. People who go out to India return home to die; they go for a few years, and return to this country; but if anyone tells me that there is any community of interests between the mother-country and the colonists, I indignantly deny it. (No! no!) At all events, they show their community of interests by means of hostile tariffs. (Oh! oh! The bell rang.) Time, however, is up; I must conclude. The way for England to increase her prosperity is by educating her people, and not by talking nonsense about emigration.

Mr. LABILLIERE: I had no intention of asking permission to say a word on this subject this evening; but after the manner in which the hon. gentleman has spoken, I feel it would ill become me as a colonist, born and brought up, not to stand up here and utter a most emphatic protest against what has fallen from him. (Cheers.) I was born and spent the first eighteen years of my life in the Colony of Victoria, one of the most leading of our Colonies. I do not like to use with regard to anything that may fall from anyone in a discussion here, the expression which I am obliged to employ; but I cannot find a better or more true term for what has been said, as far as it refers to Australia, and I believe every other Colony of the British Empire, than that it has been uttered in pure ignorance. I am very sorry that any gentleman of intelligence should get up in such an audience as this, and say what he has said. (Cheers.) I do not suppose that the gentleman wishes to be offensive in what he has said, but I cannot understand what has been the object of the remarks which have fallen from him. It is needless for any subsequent speaker to deal with the arguments he has brought forward, after the specimen he has given us of the information he possesses of the subject on which he has ventured to address us this evening. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JONES (Barbados): I came here, not imagining there would be any discussion at all, but simply to listen to the address which we have heard; and I think the meeting will agree with me it was an address worth our hearing, and full of sound and good information.

At the same time, I do not pledge myself to everything that was said in the address. I am not one of those who imagine that, because our imports exceed our exports, therefore we are doing a disastrous trade. I am rather inclined to think otherwise—that those who are doing a trade with us are forced to pay us back with a larger amount for our productions. Nor do I take such a gloomy view of our country as, I think, that address would lead some of us to take. For instance, from 1815 to 1845 there were no less than fifteen Select Committees of the House of Commons, held with a view to inquiring into the circumstances that had brought about such a disastrous state of things in the agricultural interest; and from 1845 to thirty years subsequently after the Corn Laws were abolished we only had one Select Committee, and that lately appointed to make inquiry as to the condition of the agricultural interest. Mr. Bourne has said that each individual by his labour adds to the general wealth of the country to the extent of £159 a year, and the gentleman who, adversely to Mr. Bourne, also stated that, if such were the case, to expatriate these persons who thus added to the wealth of the nation would be a very impolitic proceeding; but I think the hon. gentleman forgot that when this large emigration goes to another country, there exists increased facilities and increased materials out of which to elaborate wealth, enabled each emigrant to produce more than £159; and that the excess above what he would make in this country goes to enrich this country, and everything that man requires out in that portion of the Empire would be exported from this. (Hear, hear.) I myself have lately come from the West of Canada and the States. I did not go so far away as one who has spoken. I only went as far as Hamilton, at the extreme west of Lake Ontario. I was struck with this—that I never met a beggar through the whole of Canada, and all the people gave me the idea of being well-to-do. On returning, I went up to Ottawa to see the Exhibition there, and also because I had a letter of introduction to the Finance Minister. I travelled with a farmer and his wife who had come 500 miles to see the Exhibition. There were some miserable huts, and she said, “Dear me! are those habitations?” I said “Yes.” They were near to the metropolis. She said, “Why, where we are we put our sheep and cows into a better place than that.” I asked them what land they had got, and they informed me that they had bought 800 acres, for which they had paid 170 dollars, each acre being now worth £70. They told me that they were burning Indian corn—not the husk, but the corn itself—for this reason—

that they found it cheaper to plant the corn and reap it and make fuel of it than to cut down the woods. In the last fifty years we have made gigantic strides. I am old enough to remember when I could only travel by coach from Liverpool to London in twenty-four hours. I also remember, when the Birmingham railway was being made, travelling outside a coach, and a passenger saying that, by and by, we should be able to travel from Liverpool to London in a day, and the coachman said he would eat his head if we did. I remember when I had to cross the Atlantic in a sailing vessel. Now you can go in stately steam vessels, and you have your coffee and your rolls and every necessary thing; you have your soups and your entrées and your made dishes, and everything you want; and if that has been done in the last fifty years, do you suppose we now have not acquired increased knowledge; and do you think the colonists will not be able, acting upon our experience, to bring all that corn, which they are throwing away, into the European markets? Why, in Toronto I could have bought fifteen peaches for twopence-halfpenny. Referring to the address of Mr. Bourne in reference to the bringing about of an universal tariff for all the Colonies, it would be a glorious thing for our children and our children's children if we could have also a system of common weights and measures as well as a common tariff—not only with regard to our Colonies, but to foreign countries it would be a vast advantage, and I am sure we can all look back to the trouble we had in learning our tables. But I was anxious to go to Ottawa for this reason, that I found the Canadian Government were about to establish a line of steamers from Canada to Brazil, and residing as I do in Barbados, I was anxious to inquire about these steamers with a view of their calling at that island. I was asked to put what I suggested on paper. I did so; but as I did not at all approve of their Protective system, I said all bulky articles, such as sugar, coffee, tea, and cocoa ought to have as light a duty upon them as possible, because the cheaper they were the larger the consumption, and increased consumption required an increased tonnage to bring all these products to the consuming country, and an increase in tonnage meant also an increase in all those industries that were employed in shipbuilding. It would take a larger number of men to get the produce out of the ships and warehouse it, and then there was the distributing it over the country, and the traffic to the railways would also be increased. Then I agree with the other gentleman who said that if you go out to the Colonies you must make up your mind to go and see a vast amount of discomfort and labour, and it does not do for you to go out who have not

got a little money. But I will tell you what I came across in Toronto. I went to the theatre and took a reserved seat. It was not very expensive. (Cries of "Question," "Question.") There was a gentleman in front of me, and of course he had paid for a reserved seat, and I said, "How long have you been in Canada?" He said, "A short time." I asked, "Do you like it?" and he replied, "I like it very well; I can do things here I cannot do in the old country." He went on to explain—"I was a clerk in an insurance office before I came out here. I did not know what to do on my arrival. A friend said to me, 'Why don't you turn pedlar?' I did so, and now I have got a shop of my own."

Rt. Hon. W. E. FORSTER said: When I was asked to preside over the meeting, I asked if it was expected that I should make a speech. I have made a great many of late. I was informed that I should have the pleasant duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, and that I should be expected to occupy the attention of the meeting for a few minutes with any remarks which might occur to me, either during the reading of the paper or in the subsequent discussion. I certainly will not detain the meeting more than a very few minutes, though if I were to make a remark on every subject started by the paper, I think I might talk until the day after to-morrow; but I have rarely heard a more interesting or important paper, or one which touched on so many subjects and side subjects, such, for instance, as the question of the land laws, or that very difficult question so disputed by political economists—whether it was a sign of poverty or of wealth that our exports were less than our imports. My unfortunate fate is that in that controversy I differ from both parties, and am generally set down by both of them as an ignoramus. (Great laughter.) My impression is that such a fact is not of itself of very great importance, until we know what are the real causes. In my opinion it might be a sign of extravagance, for a nation was like a man. One might see a man, for instance, spending money in champagne and in going to a theatre, but although a man might do it, that was not a proof that he had the money to do it with. Coming to the real purport of the paper, I consider that it is very much wound up in its title, "Extended Colonisation, a Necessity to the Mother-Country." I am glad to believe that necessity did not depend upon any dispute as to the question of exports or imports. I believe it has been, it is still, and will continue to be a necessity so long as we had our energetic race here—not degenerating, increasing the population with their undeniable faculty for colonisation, and for bringing peace and other blessings

of civilised government into uncultivated lands, and teaching other nations less cultured than our own the blessings of civilisation. That had been the way in which our colonisation had gone on and would go on. Some of our friends say we must immediately send off some millions. I do not think we could do that. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) After all, admitting the actual necessity of emigration, we must consider what were the practical steps that could be taken. Trade in great measure follows the flag. I do not share the dread of emigration entertained by some manufacturers. I am a manufacturer, and do not dread it. I am glad to see emigration going on, because in spite of the lamentable Protection fallacies that prevail in some of the Colonies—notably Victoria and Canada—it was still to be remembered that our trade with the Colonies is greater than with almost any foreign country. But could we make the process of emigration go on any quicker? I am not so sanguine as some of our friends about that. Of all the plans for Government emigration which have been suggested, there was not one of which I could feel certain that it was feasible. After all, a man went to a Colony to get a living, and if a Government undertook to pick out people for emigration, it must be careful to pick out the right people, not people who could not work, but people with strong hands, and strong wills, and determination, and with what in the North was called a “head-piece.” (Laughter.) Then it would not do to flood the market with labour. We must send out capital with the labourers to keep them employed, and unless we sent out the supply in compliance with the natural demand from the Colony, we should be under the disadvantage that we should be competing with the labour and capital already in the Colony. We must avoid that danger, and, upon the whole, my impression is that we could not do better than take away every obstacle from the way of emigration—(hear, hear)—and trust to the colonising feeling of the British people, and to quicker means of communication, and to ordinary emigration in the future as in the past. (Cheers.) One of the speakers has referred to the demand for emigrants in Manitoba, and another said there was no demand there. (Laughter.) That showed the advantage of these discussions. (Laughter.) I was myself in Canada some time ago for a few weeks, and was made aware of the fact that there was a great demand there for agricultural labourers, and not much demand for anything else. I have since learned that clerks who went out there, and many of our skilled artisans, especially intelligent labourers, stood a chance of being very miserably off. I will tell you an instance of

unwise emigration. In my works in Yorkshire we had an excellent mechanic, in whom we had great confidence, and whom we were very sorry to lose. He emigrated to Australia, expecting no doubt, to make his fortune; but he returned, after being there about six weeks; and when asked why he had come back, his reply was, "Why sir, I found Australia was too full for me." (Laughter.) After all, they must ascertain the conditions of labour. The demand for labour must precede the supply. Still, something might be done. Individual capitalists would send their capital to the Colonies as they saw the chance of good investments, and sometimes the Government might lend money to the Colonies. My friend Sir John Macdonald came over to this country not long ago to get a guarantee for the Pacific Railroad, and I am not at all sure that it would not be advisable for the Government of the mother-country to be very liberal in these matters. (Cheers.) But it must not be all on one side. (Hear, hear.) If the colonists care, as I know they do care, about keeping our Colonies connected with the mother-country, and about carrying out that grand toast we had at dinner, "The Queen and the United Empire," we must be asked to consider the effect of purely Protective tariffs on the commerce of this country. (Hear, hear.) We should remind them of the difficulty there might be in keeping up in England the desire to maintain the connection with the Colonies. I trust that the time may come when we shall have universal Free-trade with all the Colonies. But we are all aware that a young country must get its revenue in some way, and there might be fiscal grounds for putting on imposts. But it is impossible to overrate the strongly disadvantageous effects which Protective duties have—I will not say in severing, because that is too strong a word, but in making it more difficult to weld together the bond which ought to connect the Colonies with England. (Cheers.) Just one remark as to what was stated by a gentleman of his experience in Australia and Canada, that the colonists did not care about their connection with England. I am very glad that the observation was made, because of the feeling it called forth from the meeting, and of the energetic reply of the Australian gentleman who immediately followed that gentleman. It was not fair to say that the Canadians did not care about their connection with England because they did not read the English papers. The fact was the Canadians read English news with as much avidity as other people; but it must not be forgotten that the English papers when they reached Canada were ten days old, and the news had been already circulated in their own papers. It appears to me



that the Canadians take an immense and intense interest in what is going on in England. There is one other thing which the Colonists themselves could do. There was no doubt that the United States had a great advantage over Australia, if not over Canada, from their homestead laws, and our Colonies might very well follow their example. What can be done, as I have said before, is that the Colonial authorities and this Institute might give information which was reliable. Notwithstanding the prosaic remarks of one of the speakers about sentiment, I still believe this is a matter with which sentiment has a great deal to do. (Hear, hear.) But is it fair to call the feeling of a man in England of rejoicing in his birth as an English citizen and of not wanting to become a foreigner and an exile on leaving his country—is it fair to call that a mere sentiment? I think it would be as unfair to sneer at that as a foolish sentiment as it would be to sneer against patriotism. I think the belief is increasing that it is possible to become a colonist without sacrificing that feeling. (Hear, hear.) I am delighted to see that opinion has changed both in England and the Colonies within the last few years. A few years ago most people thought that all we had to do was to train the Colonies up to act for themselves, and to separate peacefully and happily from the mother-country. Some looked upon that as a pleasant future; but others, and I amongst them, deeply regretted it. But it was then almost acknowledged as an axiom that such were the difficulties of distance and such the outcome of the experience of other countries, that it was vain to expect that the Colonies could remain united to these two small islands. I believe that that feeling is now departing, that people are thinking it is possible that union with the Colonies should continue, that it was within the resources of science—intellectual, material, and moral—of the future to preserve that union, and I cannot help feeling that that sentimental reason will continue to increase, and that it will be a very powerful stimulus to increase colonisation amongst some of our best men, who will go out to our Colonies. (Loud cheers.)

MR. BOURNE: I am sure, at this late hour of the evening, you will not expect from me anything more than the expression of my cordial thanks to you for having listened to so long a paper—one which, as our Chairman has said, touched upon a variety of different subjects—and having so patiently heard what I have had to say upon the matter. I could enter upon some explanations with regard to a plan for future emigration, but I am sure there is no time for it now. I started with the one idea of seeking to

impress the necessity for something being done. When a man is out of health, the first step in order to take measures for his recovery is to convince him that there is something the matter with him; and, until that is done, it is useless to propose to him any remedies; for the usual course is to cavil at the remedies suggested, and so turn attention from the main issue involved. (Hear, hear.) Time will show whether we must not enlarge our borders and extend our dominion to a greater extent than we have done; and I am at present desirous of gradually uniting all for the attainment of this object. I express my thanks for the handsome manner in which you have accorded the vote to myself, and I especially thank the Chairman for having come so long a distance to preside on this occasion. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD: Although on these occasions, when our Vice-Presidents take the chair, it is not usual to move a vote of thanks, I think the present is an exceptional case. (Hear, hear.) Our Chairman of this evening, whom we know is anything but an idle man, has come a long way to preside over us; we have had an interesting discussion; the speeches made after the paper was read have been very discursive, and have put forward very opposite views, and required the admirable summing-up of our Chairman to present them in a fitting manner to the public. He has collected the various threads of discourse, and passed them, I may say, so fittingly through the needle as to make a most complete and excellent finish to the debate. I think we owe him great thanks for what he has done this evening, and I move that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Forster. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. A. YOUL: Ladies and gentlemen, I have the greatest pleasure in seconding a vote of thanks to the Chairman, because a long time ago Mr. Forster came forward and boldly stated what he has said to-night—that he considered the Colonies to be of the greatest possible benefit to the mother-country, and hoped they never would be disunited. At that time there was a very different feeling held by many in high places, which led them to express the belief that, if the Colonies parted from the mother-country peaceably, they would relieve her from much anxiety and trouble, and no great loss would thereby be sustained. I would also give him my warmest thanks for the contradiction he gave the gentleman (Mr. Watherston) who in the remarks he made said that the colonists had not any warm feelings or sympathy for the mother-country. (Cheers.) As an Australian, I pride myself on my love for the mother-country and for the Colonies. (Cheers.) And I deny altogether that there is any want of sympathy or feeling for

the home country, as we all delight in calling it, by my fellow-countrymen in Australia or by the Canadians; on the contrary, on many occasions they have shown their sympathy and depth of their feelings for the Queen and the Constitution of this country. (Cheers.) In conclusion, I feel the Institute is deeply indebted to you, sir, for coming here to-night; and I trust your remarks will have their due effect and weight in aiding the Royal Colonial Institute in carrying out the object for which it was formed—which is, to promote the continuation of a United Empire. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. FORSTER: I should ill return your kindness if I detained you a moment; and I am much obliged to you. I am still more obliged to you and every member of the Institute in joining in what I believe to be a most useful work. I thought so before I came here and saw how you were managing your proceedings, and I think so now. I think it would be difficult to over-estimate the good which this Institute is doing in keeping a United Empire together. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

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## SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, 16th December, 1879, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., Chairman of Council, in the chair.

Amongst those present were the following:—Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.; Lieut.-Col. C. Warren, R.E., C.M.G. (Lieut.-Governor of Griqualand West); Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Dr. Gordon (Natal); Rev. C. F. Stovin; Messrs. H. J. Jourdain, Alexander Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P.; W. M. Fraser (Ceylon), W. M. Farmer, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), A. White, Robert White (Cape Colony), John Cogdon (Victoria), J. L. Bradfield, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), G. Molineux, T. B. Payne (Melbourne), F. W. Payne (Melbourne), J. D. Thomson (Cape Colony), J. Harrison Watson, J. R. Hough Thomson, Horace Young (H.B.M.'s Consul, Bilbao), F. P. Labilliere, A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Hastings C. Huggins (British Guiana), Bradman J. M. Naught, Walter Peace (Belgian Consul, Natal), Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Young, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Jones (Melbourne), Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Andrew; Messrs. George White Cooper, W. Walker, R. Staunton Bunch, W. H. Maturin, C.B. (South Australia), Mr. and Mrs. Mathie; Messrs. H. J. B. Darby, E. H. Gough, Phillip de Bosson, J. A. Fairfax (Sydney), Trelawny Saunders, F. Hutchinson, J. L. Clifford Smith, Stuart S. Davis (West Indies), E. E. Turnbull (Jamaica), Joseph Hilbert, Julius Jameson (Cape Colony), George Fraser, George W. Syms, H. R. Leitch, J. H. Greathead (Cape Colony), W. Miller (Canada); Mrs. Jameson, Miss Hoole; Dr. P. Sinclair Laing (Canada), Sir John Coode; Messrs. A. M. Mawby (Transvaal), J. V. Irwin, Charles Brown (Cape Colony), W. S. Wetherell, Charles Duncleley (Victoria), J. E. Smith, Edward Cooper (New Zealand), J. Price, John Paterson, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), H. B. Halswell, A. Focking (Cape Colony); Mrs. Lister, Miss Palmer; Messrs. Henry Bisney, H. B. Littlewood (Natal), E. A. Wallace, Purvis Russell (New Zealand), H. F. Shipster; Drs. Reuner, Baxter (Cape Town); Captain William Parfitt; Messrs. John Marshall, B. J. Cousens; Mr. and Mrs. P. G. Leeb (Cape Town), Mr. and Mrs. A. Fell; Messrs. W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), J. Leeb (Cape Colony), George Peacock (Cape Colony), George Dibley (Cape Colony), W. Agnew Pope, Angus Jennings, W. Jeffries, Colonel Yule, C.B., and Mrs. Yule; Messrs. Atlee (West Indies), Murrell R. Robinson (Cape Colony), M. M. Tait (Cape Colony), W. Manley, W. C. Manley, Thomas Jones, W. L. Jones, Douglas McLean (New Zealand), J. G. Poole (Griqualand West), W. Chisholm (Griqualand West), Robert Gillespie (Canada), Captain P. N. Colomb, R.N.; Rev. J. E. Carlyle (Natal), Captain Francis Stanley (Cape Colony), Rev. Bryner Belcher; Messrs. Thomas Gill (South Australia), W. C. Morgan, J. Duffus, J. Jackson, Thomas Learmouth, A. M. Waite, J. B. Taylor, W. Duff, C. W. Plummer, Frederick Young (Hon. Secretary), and Miss Ada Mary Young.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Honorary Secretary) read the Minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed. He also announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows since the last Meeting :—

Resident Fellows :—James Gilchrist, Esq., Alexander Donaldson, Esq., Robert Faithfull, Esq., M.D.; S. Hoffnung, Esq., James Williamson, Esq., H. W. D. Saunders, Esq., F. J. Partridge, Esq., G. S. Baden Powell, Esq., A. M. Aitken, Esq.

Non-Resident Fellows :—Andrew Lyell, Esq., M.L.A. (Victoria), Edmund Field, Esq., J.P. (Demerara), John Wilks, Esq., J.P. (Melbourne), James Bull, Esq. (New Zealand), John Lees, Esq. (New Zealand), Dr. Ford (Melbourne), W. H. Jones, Esq. (Barbados), W. S. Turner, Esq. (Demerara), F. W. Bompas, Esq. (Cape Colony), Wellesey Bourke, Esq. (Jamaica), William Howatson, Esq. (Trinidad), D. P. Nathan, Esq. (Jamaica), J. E. Martin, Esq. (Jamaica), F. W. Hyde, Esq. (Kaffraria), E. P. S. Sturt, Esq. (Melbourne), Joseph Dougal, Esq. (Melbourne).

It was announced that donations, presented to the Library, had been received from the following :—

By the Government of Ceylon :

Blue Book, 1878.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Journal of the Society, vol. xlviii., 1878; Proceedings of the Society, December, 1878.

By the Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham :

Occasional Papers, vol. iii., No. 10.

By Dr. R. Schomburgh :

On the Urara, the deadly Arrow Poison of the Macusis, an Indian Tribe of British Guiana, 1879; On the Naturalised Weeds and other Plants in South Australia, 1879.

By Baron Ferdinand Von Mueller, K.C.M.G. ;

Eucalyptographia, a Descriptive Atlas of the Eucalypts of Australia, and the adjoining Islands. Third decade, 1879.

By William Westgarth, Esq. :

Statistics of the Colony of Tasmania, 1878.

By Abraham Hyams, Esq. :

Report of the Inspector of Schools for 1878, Jamaica.

By the Hon. Virjile Naz, M.L.C., C.M.G., Mauritius :

Annual Report of the Protector of Immigrants, 1878.

By Robert Winton, Esq. :

Geological Survey of Newfoundland, Report of Progress, 1878.

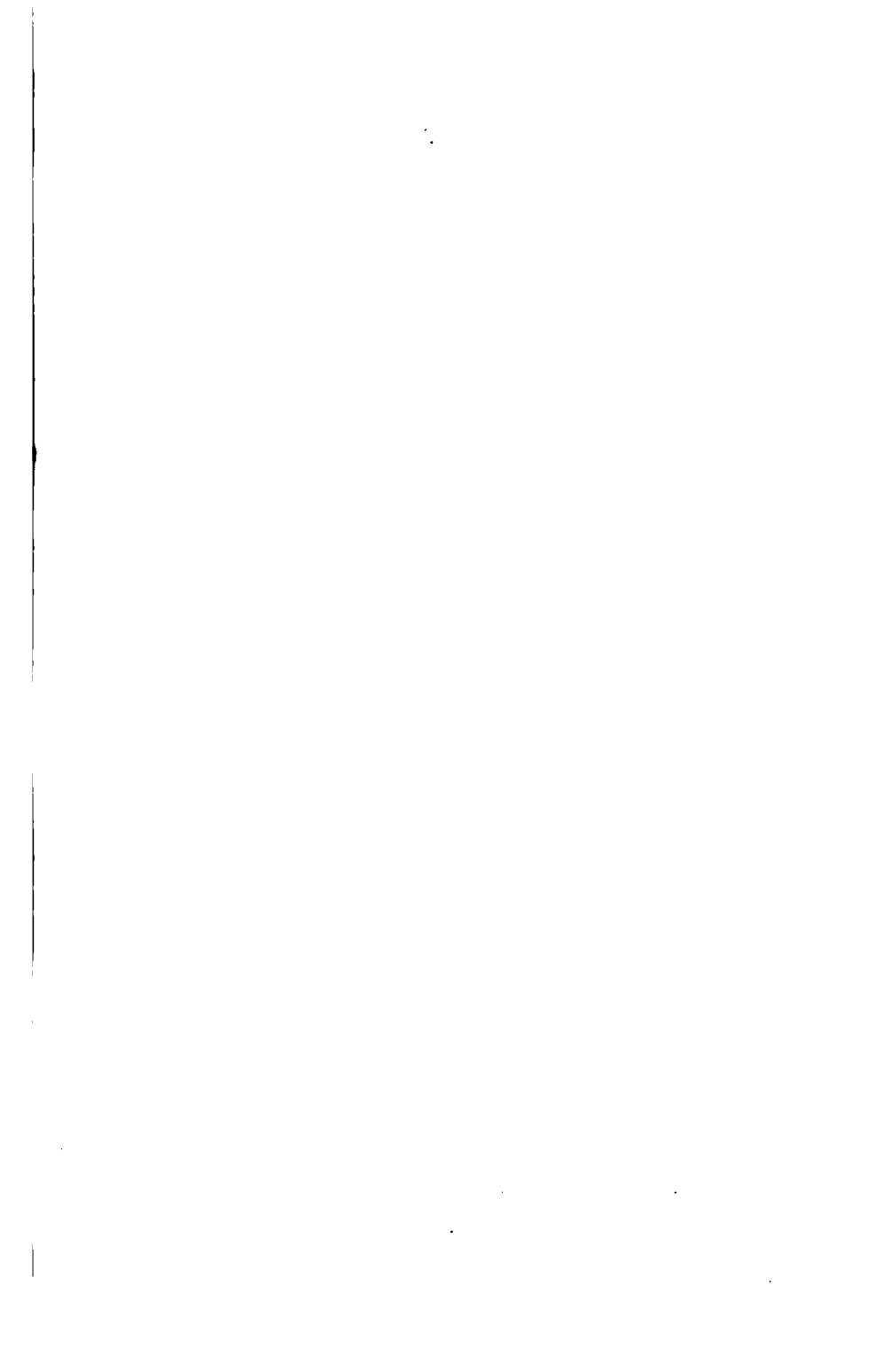
By J. Watherston, Esq. :

Our Railways: Should they be Private or National Property?

By Henry Hall, Esq. :

The Cape and its People, 1869; The Cape Colony, 1875.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. HOLUB to deliver the following lecture on :—





## THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE TRADE OF THE CAPE COLONIES WITH CENTRAL AFRICA.

DR. HOLUB (who, on rising, was received with loud applause) said : During my frequent travels I paid especial attention to the trade of the countries which I traversed. I may say that it was a part of my programme to explore the less known parts of South Africa and parts of Central Africa as far as I could penetrate. Shortly I hope to have the pleasure of bringing my small geographical researches before the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. The small attempts I made in zoology, &c., I brought before the public of Austria, in an Exhibition which I opened in the city of Prague. My researches in medical science I brought a few days ago before the Medical Faculty of Prague, and my little experience about the trade of these parts I take the liberty of bringing this evening before this noble Institute. But, before going into the details, allow me to give a few outlines of the nature of my lecture. I will say a few words about those countries which I have traversed. Then I will speak of the different roads which lead into the interior of Africa—both South and Central Africa, and I will then pass a few remarks on the traders. Those will be the general remarks which I shall make, and then I will draw a comparison between the past and the present trade; and I will mention the names of the tribes with whom we have been trading in former times and with whom we are trading now. I will mention the articles which have been brought in along with these tribes and which we bring in now, and the articles which we got from the natives in former times compared with what we receive now. Also the trading stations as they were established in former times and as they yet exist at the present moment. And after I give this comparison, I will draw another comparison between our trade—you will excuse the use I make of the word “our”; but I have been living seven years in South Africa, and I cannot help using it, for I feel more like a colonist—(hear, hear)—our trade and the rival trade, the trade of the Portuguese from the East and the West coast. I intend to describe their ways of trading, their routes into the interior, and the articles which they bring in and receive instead; and after which I have to confess that our trade in these parts has decreased, and then I will speak of the reasons for the collapse of our trade, and mention, as it is most necessary, how best we can multiply and increase the trade again, and with a few words about the opening up of Central Africa will close my address. I will commence by describing the parts of this interior about



which I intend to speak—I mean those parts of South Africa which are called the uncivilised parts. This part here dotted on this black board is in the civilised part of South Africa. It is the Cape Colony, Natal, Griqualand West (the land of the diamond), the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. The uncivilised parts are inhabited, with the exception of a few missionaries, traders, and hunters, by natives alone. I made acquaintance with most of the native tribes living between the Vaal and Zambesi rivers, and I have good and true information about parts like those lying between Limpopo, which I did not visit myself; but I visited also the southern part of Central Africa. At first we pay our attention to South Africa. I consider the Zambesi as the demarcation line between South and Central Africa. The parts between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Zambesi are inhabited by a race called the Bechuanas, who live in six independent kingdoms, and form the heart and centre of South Africa. Going from south to north among the Bechuanas we meet first the Batlapins (King Mankurane), the next to the north is the kingdom of the Barolonges (King Montsiwe), then the kingdom of the Banguaketse, and farther to the north the kingdom of the Bakwena. The boundary line between these show that these different countries form parallelograms. Their largest extent goes from west to east. The Bechuanas of these kingdoms (as named just now) live in the eastern parts, where water is more plentiful, towards the Limpopo, the Marico, and Harts rivers; and on the Molapo, in the western parts, the so-called Kalahari Desert, but which is not a desert at all; it is a large tract of land, covered with trees and plenty of grass, and only has great scarcity of water, and is inhabited by two tribes, the Makalahari and Madenassana. These are the slaves of the Bechuanas. Those natives (the Bechuanas) who come down to the diamond fields to work, every one of them has a master, and twenty or thirty of them have to stay in those dry countries and hunt ostriches for their masters. Going farther from south to north one meets, north of the Bakwenas, two tribes of the Bamangwato—the Eastern and the Western Bamangwato, or as I call the Eastern according to their capital, Shoshong, the Shoshong Bamangwato, and the Western ones, which I call, on account of the residence of their king lying near to the Lake N'Gami, Bamangwatos. Besides these native kingdoms we have yet two more in South Africa, lying between Limpopo and the Zambesi, they are the kingdom of Matabele and those of the Mashonas—and please to keep those countries in mind during my address. With regard to Central Africa, I recognise three kingdoms of the

Bamashi between the Tshobe and the Zambesi. Then from the Central Zambesi, about 400 miles extending to the north, and from east to west extending about 450 miles, is the Marutse-Mabunda empire, which has been established upon the ruins of the Makololo empire, which does not exist any more. I divide these whole tracts of land into five sections. These divisions I make not on account of any geographical reasons, or because the tribes would belong to different races, but only with reference to the trade alone. Thus I divide these different tribes and countries into five divisions, according to the different articles of barter which the trader brings into them, and according to the different articles which he gets instead. The first division comprehends the four most southern kingdoms of the Bechuanas, and one of the Batlapins, Barolongs, Bangnaketse, and Bakwena. The second division comprehends the two Bamangwato kingdoms; the third division, the Matabele and Mashona kingdoms; the fourth division, the kingdom of the Marutse; and the fifth division, comprehends tribes which live to the east of the Marutse, and which pay tribute to them.

With regard to the different roads which lead into the interior, I may mention that in the first division we have three different roads; those roads unite together towards the north in the town of Shoshong, in the country of the Eastern Bamangwato. They start from two points, from the Diamond Fields and from Hope Town, while one from this place leads to Griqua Town, then from there to Kuruman, then Morokwene to Lothlakane, the residence of the king, Montsua (Montsiwe), and from there to Molopolole, the new residence of the king, Sechele (the same man that Livingstone mentions in his book of South African travels). And from there into Shoshong; the second goes from the Diamond Fields into Taung, the residence of the king of the Batlapins, and so on to Molemas Town and Kanja, the residence of the king of the Bangnaketse, and then into Shoshong. The third, or eastern route, goes from the Diamond Fields, through the western provinces by the Transvaal Colony. These three different trading roads unite in Shoshong. From that we can already see the importance of this place; but we shall see it still more if we consider the different roads which go from there into Central Africa. We have again three main roads: the first one straight to the north, which goes already so far as eleven miles up to the junction of the Tshobe and the Zambesi, and as these rivers must be considered the demarcation lines between Central and South Africa, I suppose this must be considered the best point to reach Central Africa, and for reasons which I will mention further on. The second, the eastern road into

the interior from Shoshong, leads into the Matabele and Mashona countries. The third, the so-called western road, leads into the Lake N'Gami Bamangwato country. From this, the more we can see the great importance of the town of Shoshong; and we must cherish really the fact that this country is inhabited by a tribe, not only very peaceful and very good-natured (I know them well, having practised months and months amongst them as a medical man), and they are ruled by a man who, of all South African chiefs, is the best ruler I ever made acquaintance with. He is Khama, the son of Seklomo. The extent of his kingdom is about equal to the four other southern kingdoms in size.

Allow me now to say a few words about the traders, only a few general remarks. Those trading in these parts of the interior were mostly Englishmen, but a few also born in South Africa. I have no time to describe their manners and ways of trading, this subject alone would be sufficient for one lecture of itself. The way in which they convey their goods into the interior is with bullock waggons; and where, owing to a poisonous insect (the Tsetse, which destroys the cattle), the use of waggons is impossible, they utilise the Zambesi, and bring their goods into the interior with canoes and carriers. We will now make an attempt to draw a parallel between our past and our present trade. I said we have always to keep in mind these five divisions, in which I divide the interior with regard to our trade with those parts. We trade with the tribes only of the first and second division between the Tshobe and the Zambesi; but, with regard to the third division, we trade at present with the Matabele alone, and not at all with the Mashonas, which you will be surprised to hear is the richest and the most fertile country in the whole of South Africa. Going farther into the interior, we come to the Marutse. We have been trading with the Marutse, but are trading no more; and, with regard to the fifth division, we are trading still in a limited way with the tributary tribes. Therefore the number of native tribes with whom we trade at the present time has decreased. We will see about the articles which are brought into those parts. In former times we brought into the first division guns, shooting material, soft goods, a little ironmongery, stoneware, a little wearing apparel, but very little indeed. And we bring now no guns, no shooting material, and only soft goods, but ploughs. That is a great difference between former times and now. (Hear, hear.) Approaching the second division, we traded in guns, shooting material, wire, and beads. Now no guns and shooting material, but soft goods, beads, and wire. With regard to the third division, we brought in guns and shooting material, calico, beads and wire

at present the last three articles alone. With respect to the fourth division, before, shooting material, guns, calico, beads, soft goods, and a little ironmongery and horses; but nothing now. With regard to the fifth division (the tributary tribes of the Marutse), shooting material, soft goods, and beads have been sold; and at present only calico, beads, and ware. So those are the articles which we brought in in former times, and which we bring in now. Do we again, on the other hand, consider the articles which we got from the natives in exchange? We will observe that we got from the natives in the third division, cattle, skins, karosses, and a quantity of ostrich feathers; at present we get grain, cattle, skins, and a small quantity of ostrich feathers; in former times a large quantity, but a larger quantity of Indian corn and another kind of grain. So we have decreased in ostrich feathers and other things. With regard to the second division, we have got hides, ostrich feathers, ivory, and cattle. At present hides and cattle, very little ostrich feathers, and very little ivory. With regard to the third division, matters vary very much. We got in former times ivory, rhinoceros horn, ostrich feathers, and skins; but at present only a small quantity of feathers, a small lot of ivory, no rhinoceros horn, and only a few skins. With regard to the fourth division, we got in other times a very large quantity of ivory and a large quantity of other skins and corn; at present nothing, only a little corn; and from the fifth division we received ivory and grain, at present a little of ivory and grain. Certainly a great difference, when we consider the articles we got in former times and those now. Allow me to speak of the reasons of this deplorable collapse of our trade. With regard to the trading stations I may yet say that we have less trading stations than in former times. We lost all those among tribes with whom we do trade no more; we have kept Kuruman, Marokwene, Taung, Mamuse, Moshaneng, Kanje, Molopolole, Shoshong, Tati, and Gubuluwajo; we lost Shesheke, Pandama-Tenka—further, the one opposite to Wankes Town, on the Central Zambesi.

Before I say anything about the reasons for the decrease of our trade, it might be of some interest to hear of certain laws which are in force amongst the different tribes, under which the native is allowed to trade with the white man. Among the Bechuanas, in those six independent kingdoms, one tusk of ivory goes to the king, and the other is kept by the native hunter. The one from the side on which the elephant falls to the ground belongs to the king and the tusk on the other side to the native. The white and best feathers of all ostriches shot have to be given to the king, and all the other feathers the man can keep. In the country of the

Matabele (in the third division) all ivory belongs to the king, and no man is allowed to sell or keep a single feather. But the natives are allowed to sell their cattle, rhinoceros horn, skins, carcasses, and grain to tradesmen. In the Marutse empire the king buys all the things brought into the country, all the calico, beads, &c.; and, again, he gets all the ivory of his people, and distributes all the calico amongst his people, and lends them the guns which he buys. He has a chief, who has to remember how many of them has been given to the people, and he says he only lends them these weapons that they might slay the elephants for him. The king then buys all the goods which the traders bring into his empire, and does not allow anyone to sell ivory. All the more important articles, as ivory, skins of a certain kind of lemur, &c., all have to be handed over to the king.

If we now consider the trade of the Portuguese, we see that their roads go into South Africa from Delagoa Bay, then from different parts of the East coast farther to the north, and up the river in the valley of the Zambesi, up to 800 or 450 miles from its mouth. But from the West coast they are trading as far as the great lakes. I was really astonished, when I came into those parts of Central Africa, to see all those parts which have been considered by the people in Europe as a *terra incognita*; as such, I found, to my astonishment, that most of those parts between the West coast and the great lakes and the River Congo are well known to the Portuguese traders. I was astonished, when I met Portuguese traders who came down as far as 150 miles eastward of the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi, that they came from the lakes, traversing the continent from Loanda, Benguela, and Mosamedes, and appear in the vicinity of Shesheke. Those men know every tribe and river, and the peculiarities of the different tribes, in those tracts so well that they should be able to write a book on those parts. A very lively trade is going on in the interior towards the West coast. The nationality of these traders is to a certain extent Portuguese, but about seventy per cent. are called Mambari. These are a mixed race. They have the whole trade in their hands. These Mambari penetrate to the interior with carriers; they go in to the number of 100 to 200 men with their articles. Mostly what they bring are old-fashioned flint muskets—I suppose, which have been in use amongst the Portuguese about 100 years ago—with iron bullets to load them with. Then they bring in the worst quality of soft goods, rough gunpowder, and beads; and the articles they get in return are ivory and skins. I saw with regret, and I hope the practice no longer exists, that these Mambaris took slaves

as barter. The Portuguese trade in the interior has decreased since the year 1872. In that year the English traders from the South penetrated into Central Africa by crossing the river Zambesi. Since that time the Portuguese trade has decreased. Those parts were ruled by a very cruel king, called Sepopo. He was living in the western parts of his empire, in his very fertile mother-country, Barotse. He was dissatisfied with the articles which the Portuguese brought from the East coast ; and as one of his natives brought him two guns and good blankets which he had got from some English traders, and he took a fancy to those things, and on account of that he changed his residence, and he came down from the Barotse, and took up his abode in Shesheke (district of the Masujna), a village of which Livingstone makes mention. It is a country inhabited by a poisonous insect, where people cannot breed cattle, excepting in the next neighbourhood of Shesheke, and he preferred those parts only to be nearer to our traders. But Sepopo was killed in 1876, and the people who came from the West coast and had great influence with the advisers and counsellors of the new king, recommended the new man not to deal with our traders, and since that time our trade has decreased. We had such a lively trade, with those parts, that between the years 1872-76, not less than £80,000 worth of ivory had been brought out from the one empire alone ; in the year 1877 only about £2,000 ; and since that time nothing. But we have to see about the reasons of the decrease and collapse of our trade in the first, second, and third divisions. We have had the opportunity to observe that this decrease happened through circumstances which would have occurred sooner or later. It was a trade mostly with ivory and ostrich feathers, and as was to be expected, with the progressing extirpation of these animals, the trade would decrease and cease entirely. The time when the trade was opened, there were only a few traders who traded in those parts. Those men made a good business, on account of which their numbers multiplied, and instead of five we observe, in the latest years, about seventy traders. In former times game was plentiful in the first and second divisions, consequently no trouble for a single man to kill twenty or thirty elephants in one season ; but during late years since the natives got possession of guns they have begun to use them themselves, frequently decimating these animals, like the white hunters, whose numbers have increased like those of the traders. The natives do not show to the white man the roads into the thickets where elephants were plentiful, but keep them a secret to themselves. Their chiefs impose, at present, taxes upon

elephant-hunting, or do not longer permit these animals to be killed by white hunters, and in this way we see every year the decrease of the export of ivory, and that, at the present moment, hardly a tenth part of the number of elephants are killed as in former times. The elephants are entirely extirpated from the country to the south of Bamangwato. In the land of the Bamangwato the elephants became scarce, and in the Matabele they also decreased, in numbers; but in the country of the Marutse and in the fifth division they are still very plentiful. Now this decrease in ivory has caused a great collapse in our trade with these parts. Certainly the natives as well as the traders never thought of new articles of barter to revive trade. In the latest time some measures have been taken by the Governors of the different provinces of South Africa which will influence the trade with those parts to a great extent. It was made a law that no guns and ammunition should be brought among the natives, and I believe that if this law had been passed ten years ago, or if it had been strictly obeyed during the last eighteen or twenty months, the trade would not have collapsed in such a way as it has. You will find the game very plentiful still in parts where the natives had not any or only a few guns. At the present moment we see that the natives, who were accustomed to imitate the white man in his garment and to dress themselves in European clothing, begin to imitate also the white man in other ways, like to build houses as white men do; and those natives who gained before by killing ostriches and elephants, have no more the means to do all this. In other times, as long as the native possessed a gun or the necessary shooting material, he went into the forest and killed elephants, sold one tusk to the trader, and with what he got for one tusk he lived for two or three months and did nothing, his wives planting a little corn, and that was all the work he did. At the present moment, when game is scarce and when he cannot acquire any shooting material, he is obliged to take to agriculture, of which he never thought before. He cannot leave his new customs to imitate the white men, as mentioned. He is obliged now to work, and that is the reason why I believe we have already now an increase of exports from those parts in Indian corn, &c. I believe from what I saw and know at present from the Bechuanas and a native tribe on the Transvaal border, that this will increase from year to year; and what we have to do is to send men amongst those tribes who were peaceful; but some became warlike only because they got into the possession of guns. It needs only to send men among them to teach them the proper way of agriculture, and you would

see that those countries which gave us in former times large quantities of ivory, and very little of it at present, would produce a great many articles, and our trade must increase. There are many parts of this interior which for twenty or forty miles are nothing but one fertile humus soil, the best soil to be wished for. We tried rice, &c., and we could observe that it would grow in those parts, with the best success; so it needs men to preach among natives how to rear these different articles, rice and cotton, and we should see in a few years the crops we should have, and a large export of those articles towards the South African Colonies and this country. But the law passed that no guns should be brought in, I believe had still more than these material advantages. I believe it was not the proper way to hunt the elephant down and extirpate that useful animal; and I believe now where the native has not the opportunity to kill an elephant, that he cannot do that, for he cannot do that with his assegai as he did in former times, and the best thing is to give them the chance of showing to the kings how they can get the elephants and how they can be tamed. In former times, when they had guns, there was no hope that something similar would take place. If that law had not been settled and they had still guns it was to be expected that the trade must collapse, as the elephants would soon have been extirpated. Yes, as it is in the first, it would have taken place in the second and third divisions; and, if the killing of useful animals had been going on as it was in former times, in two or three years there would have been none left in all those parts of the interior, and for this reason we must have recourse to this law. Through this law the natives are also obliged to work and to take to agriculture; and, by doing so, we may be sure that the trades of the parts will increase. (Hear, hear.) In the fifth division there are elephants plentiful still. I did not find any ostriches in the Marutse country; they commence again about 500 miles to the north. Since the death of King Sepopo and since our trade collapsed, the Portuguese are there again very successful. It would be good to give them the advice to take more care of their elephants, that they should not go and extirpate them; that also there they might be tamed—they would prove so very important as carriers in the limits of the tsetse-fly. All this has to be taken in hand as soon as possible. A great deal can be done. I observed alike among the tributary tribes of the Marutse empire that they could cultivate cotton; and I brought with me a very beautiful, and a very good, blanket which the people make themselves. There needs not much to encourage these people to make in a few years cotton as an export article.



But, besides this, the country contains a great many vegetables, india-rubber, arrowroot, cannabis, splendid fibre for texture, and other products which, when brought into the market, would soon be sold. I brought a few of those articles with me, and I was sorry, when I came from the Exhibition of Prague, that I could not take them out, and bring them over here to show them. I found there whole forests of trees. One tree, called Mapani, contains oil, the leaves themselves, in a fresh state, will burn beautifully. So, I believe, we shall be able to make use of these and extract this oil. Besides this, the natives can cultivate different kinds of corn and beans which, I believe, will be very useful. Then there is a beautiful fruit there. I found some which had the same quality and flavour as the South American vanilli (contained in the pulpa), and contains a good deal of the elements of a vegetable marrow; and the natives use it like corn. They let it rest under the sun for a certain time to dry, and then they open the stone and grind the pippins to make bread and porridge of it, and use it for corn and meat. Besides that, these parts are very rich in fruits, &c., of healing properties. It is well known that gold is found along the banks of the Tati River. There are places where we find seven ounces of gold in one ton of quartz; but there are places where we find twenty-four ounces of gold in one ton of quartz. But those parts belong to the king of the Matabele (a Zulu king). This kingdom is very rich indeed, but still richer is that of the Mashonas. The Matabele are a Zulu tribe. The founder of this empire came up into these countries, which are at present occupied by the Matabele, from Zululand; he came among the Makalaka, who were peaceful husbandry-men, and there gained ascendancy of this tribe, disturbed the villages at night and burned them, killed men and women taken as prisoners, the boys to be educated for Matabele warriors; and in this way, with forty warriors, a kingdom has been established which at present extends between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, and is about 450 miles broad from the south to the north. To the east of this country, the richest country in the whole of South Africa, lies the Mashona country, a land where the natives cultivated cotton and rice for many years, and which is also rich in alluvial gold. But we never could explore it to any extent worth speaking of; the king of the Matabele would never allow, excepting to a very few, explorers and white traders to go into those parts, he was frightened that we should. He is continually at war, and every year sends two or three of his regiments to rob and kill the Mashonas, and to bring guns into the Mashona country would make them become strong

enough to oppose his depredatory incursions which he every year makes into that country. But I believe at the present moment the situation is changed a little. It was about three years ago, when a certain number of Dutchmen who left the Transvaal, and who were going into the Damara country to establish a new republic, intended to take possession of the Matabele-land, that I saw an opportunity to get permission of a free access to the Mashonas. The Matabele king, La-Bengula, asked our Government to restrain the Dutch to come into his kingdom, and so I thought if we could prevent them from their intention, the king would do our wishes regarding Mashona-land. But the Dutch changed their opinion, and did not go to the Matabele country, but into the Damara country, and since then we have lost every hope of doing trade with that country. But lately, since the affairs in Zululand, the king has changed a great deal his opinion of us. He is once more willing to hear our sound words of reason, and I believe, under present circumstances, we gained so much esteem in Gubuluvajo (the king's residence) that when requested the king would not stop our going in and our trading with the Mashonas, and our cultivation of that part of South Africa also, as he knows we do not bring in any more guns and shooting material amongst the tribes.

This is only a very rough sketch—(cheers)—and I feel sorry to say that I am unable to express myself as I wish to do. During my stay in South Africa I have been so busy amongst the natives that I have not had the opportunity to acquire the English language in such a way as to deliver a proper lecture. (“No, no.”) Therefore I must be pardoned for many mistakes made during this lecture. I wished very much to make good use of all the influence I could amongst the chiefs, as I went amongst them as their friend. I went amongst them as a medical man; I did not go as a missionary, nor as a trader. I went to help them, and in that way I had opportunities of observing in every way those tribes, and, having their confidence, I often saw behind the curtain. I gained the knowledge that we can put all our confidence in most of the Bechuana tribes and most of the Bechuana chiefs between the Vaal river and the Zambesi. They are one race, but different tribes, with regard to their mental capabilities, their customs, &c. Mankwenune, the chief of the Batlapins, proved a man to whom we can not well trust; but through recent events he has become a better man. Another chief, Montzua, is a man whom we can trust in every way; to a certain extent, to King Katsitsine. Leche!, the King of the Bakwena, is the same man whom Livingstone mentioned

in his book ; but he is a Tartuffe. I perceived this when I made his acquaintance on the first occasion, and when I saw him I was impressed with the idea that he was a man whom we could not depend on. But when he talks to you, please do not believe one word in ten. I will mention only one circumstance when I saw him. When I was introduced to him he paid me a very nice compliment, and I was very astonished, I had never heard anything similar of a chief before ; but when at the same moment he paid me the compliment he was talking to his officer, and with his right eye he was making fun of me. So I was careful about him. That man lives in a villa similar to one of our villas here. If a traveller came and saw him, he invites him to tea, and he has a silver service in which he takes tea. When he invited me to take tea with him, the King sat at the head of the table, to his left sat his Queen, and next to him two missionaries (Rev. Price and Rev. Williams), and I was third on the right. He was talking to these two gentlemen, who were translating to him, and he asked me about my home. I told him I was an Austrian, and he would not believe this ; natives only know two nations, the Dutch and English. If I said I was an Austrian that could not be. If I had said a Frenchman or Italian—no, he said, I must be an Englishman or a Dutchman. I remember when a boy of thirteen, reading a story of him in Livingstone's book, which I told him I had done, and added that I never thought when reading the story of him that I should ever have the pleasure of meeting him ; and I observed that the Queen did not find a great interest in our talk, for she was a little dozing. At the moment when I told him her Majesty came so deep down with her head that she nearly touched her cup, and the King answered me at once and raised his eyes towards the ceiling, and said, "The ways of Providence are wonderful,"—and at the same moment he gave the Queen to understand below the table with his foot that it was not good breeding to sleep in the presence of strangers ; but he did it in such a gentle manner that she nearly fell down on the table. He did that when he told me "The ways of Providence are wonderful." (Laughter.) So that during the war between Khama and the present ruler—who, I may mention, is one of the best rulers we find in the interior—when he was at war with his cruel father, Sekhomo, Sechele sent 2,000 of his warriors against Khama to Sekhomo, and when engaged in fight with him sent messengers to Khama. He can send a good many warriors also to him, if he would give him many head of cattle, and ivory and feathers. My idea is that, as we have to deal with peaceful natives who were peaceful, only a few of them became high spirited

since they got guns, but who are obliged now again to take to their old more peaceful habits and become in reality peaceful people, and as thus our way into the interior leads through peaceful people, this is one of the good reasons for opening up Central Africa from the south. If we consider the east coast, our way leads through tribes of whom we do not know how they will behave; if they see large quantities of European goods pass through their territories into the interior they become jealous, and the consequence of it will be that they kill our traders, and, shortly, we have no guarantee that the native tribes therein will behave friendly for the future, as we have it among the Bechuanas more than among any other tribes in South Africa. Besides this, there is another obstruction. My experience tells me that on the East and West coast malaria fever is so bad that it kills 50 per cent. of all white men that come there; but my experience between the Vaal River and the Zambesi is that malaria kills 3 to 5 per cent. of those who go there. That is a great difference. This part is more healthy. Undisputably the access from the south is yet the healthiest way into the heart of Africa. Mashona country, the most fertile part of South Africa, is unhealthy, but the neighbouring Matabele land is very healthy. We can trade and cultivate in the former there for months, and we can live in the latter during the unhealthy season. There are more reasons which make me believe that really the south is the proper way to come into the interior, and not by the other routes. We go also into the interior through our Colonies; the money spent for the great enterprise to open Central Africa benefits your brethren; gentlemen, not so in your trial from the East. Only the chiefs living on the East coast get the benefit (and also along the West coast), and natives who never have been and never will be so friendly to you like the Bechuanas in Central South Africa. These chiefs on the East coast are at first willing when ivory is plentiful in their lands, and as long as they can buy lots of our goods; but when they have killed their last elephant and have nothing more to build with and deal with, and they see our traders going into the interior with waggons and waggons of goods, they become jealous, and we have no guarantee that these chiefs will be reliable. I went up the Zambesi River, and I believe it will facilitate our trade towards the north-west. Then remember that our waggons can now already penetrate up to fifteen miles to the Zambesi and Tshobe junction; we are thus already at the heart of Africa, and are on the demarcation line of Central Africa from the Zambesi valley (right and left of the Victoria Falls); we can then open several trading stations. But how to keep open communications between

the Colonies and the Zambesi? I would propose that in these different Bechuana native kingdoms small Colonies should be established. I do not say that I would like to take possession of these native kingdoms, not at all; we leave them as they are, entirely at their liberty; but I am sure of it that they will have nothing to say against it. If I go to-day to Montsua and say, "You cannot get more guns, but you are anxious to get possession of all the other things of the white man, for which your heart has taken fancy, therefore, you must produce a hundred times more corn and mealies than you do now. I know parts in your countries which are fertile, but which are not considered so. But I will send you ten or twenty white men who will teach you agriculture. You grant them land and leave them peacefully," &c. In that way I believe the natives would reap great benefit from the white man, and *vice versâ*, and I am sure that there are many hundreds of families to be found who like to work—not emigrants or adventurers who only go in to enrich themselves within a few years, and such men are not the proper men to establish small Colonies in these kingdoms, and those colonists would form a kind of chain between our Colonies and the interior of Africa. It would be a kind of resting-place when the traders go in, which they have not at present; and when they go in they have simply to die, and often to suffer the greatest hardship. All these difficulties would be met if there were resting stations; and in the same way I believe that if the question could be put to Zubago, with regard to opening up Central Africa, and if we could get a footing in the Mashona country, I believe the present ruler of the Matabele would take it into consideration, and would not cause so many troubles as he has done. The Matabele do not care for agriculture, but only for fighting; but when they see all these nations around them enriched through agriculture and united by their peaceful operations, they (I believe) will give way to better intentions, and improve gradually, the more as the warlike spirit of the Zulu Matabele has suffered the greatest defeat through the subjugation of the Zulus. I would advise for only gaining this to hold a meeting of the chiefs of the different countries, and bringing this matter before them. I believe that they would assemble. I believe that, in a few years to come, we might see these lot of men living between the Vaal and the Zambesi—a lot of good husbandry men, who would supply the civilised parts of Africa with the necessary quantity of grain and other necessary products. During late years we were obliged to import grain. Now, if these natives, of whom thousands at the present moment only await the opportunity, were to take to agri-

culture, we could, I suppose, export in a few years grain, cotton, rice; instead of importing them, and I believe that in another way we would again benefit these Colonies. Besides these, I observe that agriculture exercises a beneficial and great influence upon all the tribes—if we mention only one, it improves the position of the women among those tribes. Among the Bechuanas we find the following. A man marries two or three wives, only for the reason that they should work for him, and he should do nothing. Among the Matabele a woman is not considered as a human being, and she is not allowed to talk in the presence of the men. But among the Marutse a woman is esteemed, and we find that most of the rulers are queens, and not kings. (Hear, hear.) But, with regard to husbandry, which we should introduce to the Bechuanas, this would change the position of the women in this way. The men do not allow the women to touch the ploughs. He himself says that is his work—(cheers)—and I observed the proof of it in one town, the inhabitants of which are the subjects of the Transvaal Colony, called Linokana, where there are about 800 male adults. They have about 200 ploughs. A man goes out every year and sees the new imports, and increases the value of his property, and the woman dresses in European clothes. She fetches the wood to build a hut, &c., and does small work; but the man takes to the plough, looks after the cattle, and does the heaviest work. And I am sure, as I know the Bechuanas, that they all will become as such. Now, the single town of 800 adults or that, produces several thousands of bags of Indian corn, which they bring round to the Diamond Fields for sale, but between the Zambesi and the Vaal River numerous such towns exist. The quantity of corn which they could produce would be enormous. Very often the natives have built towns in the wrong places, where water is scarce. But it is only simply necessary for a man to go and say, "We will build our houses here." They build a house made of bushes, clay, and grass, in two days. They can move their towns, and in this way, I believe, for I saw the town of Shesheke, a town with 2,000 houses, built up in two months. It was burnt down in 1875, and it was built up in the months of October and November, so that the changing of a residence among the South African tribes is not a great difficulty for them—excepting for those who commence to imitate our houses; but they, again, have generally built these where water is plentiful, and land-cultivation has been started in the true sense of the word. Like the Baharutse in Linokana, like the Batlapins at Kuruman, and the Barolongs at Molemas Town, I believe that all the tribes can become agriculturists, and some planters of valuable tropical

produce; and if we take the matter up and see, we come always to the same conclusion, that we could not wish better than the above measures taken, that no guns or shooting material should be brought into those parts. These are only a few words, and certainly a great deal remains to be done yet. These are only a few outlines. I could not mention it in a different way, only as a rough sketch. But all these points that I mention to-day, they can so be deferred, if wished for, to another occasion; and I hope in about ten months to have done all the work which I intend to do in Europe, and resume my explorations further into the interior. And I shall go with the greatest pleasure, as I know the chiefs, and will do my best to bring those plans which I explain to-day into execution. (Loud cheers.)

#### DISCUSSION.

SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B.: My lord duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—I really have no pretensions to speak on this matter of South Africa from any intimate knowledge of the circumstances, nor from any personal observation, as some gentlemen here have; but I have had the pleasure of some conversation with Dr. Holub, and I have been impressed by the intelligence, and the single heartedness, and entire disinterestedness with which he has devoted many years of his life to this task of exploration, without the slightest assistance from any Government or public body. (Hear, hear.) He is a medical man, and in the practice of his profession. When he had realised a certain sum, he went on to that for which he had a decided vocation—exploration among the African tribes; and when his health or his resources failed him, he turned back to one of the Colonies and practised again until he got together sufficient funds to recommence his work. I do not know another instance in the history of explorations in which there has been such abnegation and self-denial in the work. (Hear, hear.) I think for that reason, Dr. Holub—who made some apologies for his English, which were totally unnecessary, for I wish all Englishmen could speak foreign languages as well as he, a native of Bohemia, speaks and writes—(hear, hear)—I think that he has shown us an example that any of us may be proud to follow. His disinterested course of explorations, ably and energetically prosecuted, with no other view than that of extending our knowledge and improving the condition of these tribes in South Africa, is worthy of great praise, and for that reason I am glad to say a few words on the subject. (Hear, hear.) He has travelled over so wide a field this evening, as previously on foot during his years of travel, that it is

very difficult to make any brief observations calculated to cover the ground which he has traversed. But I have been struck by two or three points on which he has dwelt more especially. And, first, in reference to the geographical and physical features of the territory in South Africa. I have been more accustomed to consider these in their bearing on exploration and its difficulties. But Dr. Holub has taken for his guide the description of the country traversed as suggested by the occupation of different tribes and the products they could supply for commerce as cultivators of the soil, which is a useful and novel mode of regarding the country between our Colonies and the Vaal and the Zambesi. He has drawn our attention to this chiefly this evening. He has not dwelt upon the great desert which borders on the western side, but has opened to us an entirely new view as to the facilities for exploration in these regions, and as to the best means of penetrating into Central Africa from the south. When Stanley was in this country I had some opportunity of discussing with him the best mode of opening Central Africa, and he was strong in the opinion that the best mode of penetrating the great continent was from the West coast. On the other hand, the tendency of the Geographical Society and many interested in the question has been to believe that the East coast supplies the best starting-point, although there is certainly a coast district, some 150 miles in width, which is beset with fevers and many other difficulties to be overcome. The best road towards the great central lakes, and that which gives us the best hope of ultimate success in gaining access to the land and the people, for the purposes of commerce and civilisation together throughout the whole of Central Africa, is a problem of great interest and importance. I think in reference to this and other subjects Dr. Holub has this evening brought before us many observations which must impress us with their importance. And as to the facility with which, through these agricultural races and the chiefs of the Basuto tribes, we may penetrate more readily into Central Africa from the Zambesi than we can from the East or West coast, his views deserve careful consideration. (Hear, hear.) At all events, it is an important view which he has laid before us—and with a great deal of personal experience—and I am sure it will meet with due attention from those interested in the progress of civilisation in Central Africa. (Hear, hear.) I have no pretension to take up the time of this Society by any lengthened observations on the subject. Dr. Holub has himself entered fully into the grounds for his suggestions that endeavours should be made to advance through the districts and regions occupied by agricultural



rac<sup>es</sup>—rac<sup>es</sup> given to agriculture rather than war—and not to conclude, as our late experience of the Zulu and other kindred tribes would rather tend to make us believe, that all Africans were so addicted. We are glad to learn on such good authority that many tribes exist in South Africa inclined to settled pursuits of agriculture, and the possibility, with their consent and concurrence, of forming certain stations in their midst that would form points in which in any attempts to push commerce through to the Zambesi there would be means of assistance and information for all who might seek such aid. That is, in effect, what the King of the Belgians is now attempting to do with such munificent spirit in a line across Central Africa; with an unstinted expenditure of money and earnest efforts, he is endeavouring to establish a chain of permanent stations from the East coast to the West, and from the Congo to Zanzibar, to act as places of refuge for travellers, whether geographers, merchants, or missionaries, and supply the means of restoring their energies when exhausted by long and toilsome explorations or travels, places of rest and of safety to all attempting to traverse the great continent of Africa. And although we have been told that it is desirable to consult large maps for political reasons—and we have got a very fairly large one here this evening—yet even this, I believe, gives no adequate idea to the mind at first of the distances which separate one point from another, or the vast spaces to be traversed over on foot for the most part. But when we talk of explorers going across Africa, it is thousands of miles we are contemplating. And as to any advance from these southern Colonies of ours up to the Zambesi river, there are spaces as large as European kingdoms to pass through that are covered with tribes of savages, not always safe to deal with, to be constantly borne in mind if we would judge rightly of the efforts required to extend commerce or civilisation among the native tribes. (Hear, hear.) I will not take up further time of this meeting in reference to the chief points which struck me as Dr. Holub proceeded. I hope he is right, and that by the encouragement of these agricultural tribes we may improve the condition of their women. I am sure there will not be any real improvement in the civilisation of these tribes until they give to women their proper place as helpmates, and not as slaves. One of the blessings which Christianity brought with it has been the elevation of womankind to the same position as men, and with equal claims under the same dispensation. (Hear, hear.) I confess I am not so sanguine as he is as to the time this revolution may take. I am old enough to remember the time when,

in passing through France, I have seen a woman and a donkey yoked to the plough together which the man was guiding. If this division of labour could exist in a Christian country in the nineteenth century, we must not be too impatient with the Africans. No doubt such drudgery no longer exists in France or elsewhere in Europe in these enlightened days, and we may perhaps hope that the progress of civilisation and of agriculture and commerce may make more rapid strides than heretofore, and have the effect, with the aid of Christianity, of giving women their proper place; and I am sure that the men will never be either Christianised or civilised until this is so. (Hear, hear.) We are much indebted to Dr. Holub for the interesting information he has given on the many points connected with South Africa and its inhabitants, among whom he has dwelt so many years. While as to the extension of commerce and the best mode of approaching Central Africa and making progress by the arts of peace instead of war, all that he has said is deserving of the attention of this Society; and I congratulate Dr. Holub on the effective manner in which he has brought the subject before us. (Cheers.)

Col. C. WARREN, R.E., C.M.G. (Administrator of Griqualand West) : I have great pleasure in being able to bear testimony to the good work Dr. Holub has done in South Africa, and of the good will he has obtained at the hands of the people, both white and native. I know personally that, although a poor man, he has, through his constant perseverance and exertions, gained his valuable information and experience which is now laid before you. I know that frequently while he has been in South Africa he has been obliged to stay at various towns, and practice as a physician, in order to obtain sufficient money to proceed. It was mentioned just now that it was from his superfluities he was able to do this work; but I can assure you he had a hard task, and had to make the money as a physician, and then with that money go into the interior and come back penniless. I quite concur with Dr. Holub in thinking that the Kalahari Desert is no desert at all. I have been through a portion of it, and it is a plain covered with beautiful grass at certain seasons of the year. There is no doubt that there is water to be found over great portions of it; but the natives are in the habit of closing up any springs that exist, and keeping a few only here and there, so that they may the more readily be able to kill the game when they come to water. Very few Europeans have entered the Kalahari Desert, and little is known of it; but I have no doubt of it myself, that in the future it is the site of valuable sheep farms. Recently the absence of gunpowder among the natives has made a very great

change in their midst, and during the last two years ostriches have increased to a great extent in the Kalahari, and one or two enterprising people about Griqualand West have proposed, that instead of sending out to kill the ostriches, they should in future capture the young ones, and bring them in and herd them among the villages of Griqualand. If that is done, a most valuable industry will be created among the natives themselves. (Hear, hear.) To give you some idea of the way in which agriculture is carried on among the natives at the present time, I may mention that at one station alone in Griqualand West, towards the north, they were selling at the rate of one plough a day. The Bechuanas have been mentioned as being among the uncivilised races, but they have very far advanced towards civilisation. They have among them a Raad, whom the chiefs consult, in fact, something like a small House of Parliament, with each tribe; and I am under the impression that the Bechuanas would be the first native race to be thoroughly civilised, and that they have advanced greatly towards that end. (Cheers.) The matter which strikes one at first in visiting South Africa is the entire absence of manufactures among the natives; but that manufactures can be introduced I think there is no doubt. It is only necessary to look at the beautiful way in which the skins are sewn together to show the power of the natives in that direction, and those skins are sewn for the most part by the men. Also, if you examine the spears, and the assegais and other articles, you will see the workmanship is very beautiful, so that there is no doubt whatever that if the native races are induced to acquire the luxuries which to a great extent are the causes of manufactures among white people, that there will be a great trade in the future in the northern parts of South Africa. I can endorse what has been said with regard to the question of ploughs and the women, because I remember in one case where after the war the natives were transferred to another part of the country, they had no ploughs, and they were in great difficulty because the women refused to go into the fields to hoe the ground, having been accustomed so long to sit at home and let the men use the ploughs, and the men thought it degrading to go out, and I at last had to get some ploughs, so as to make a commencement, for I was afraid there would be a famine among them during the ensuing year. No doubt a vast change is taking place among the natives as to the treatment of women, and I ascribe this in a great measure to the good work that has been done by missionaries out there. The Rev. John Mackenzie has taught a large number of natives—I believe Khama was one of his pupils—and he has, through his care, elevated the minds of many

of the higher class of natives, and induced them to copy the better virtues of the white people. I have no doubt whatever that when this war is over—this war epidemic which has spread like a contagious disease over the fair land of South Africa—that a new spirit will be invoked among the people. The natives are quite changing in many respects since the war, they are taking to agricultural pursuits, and I have little doubt that after it is over trade will be much developed in the northern portion of South Africa, especially in Bechuana land. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN PATERSON, M.L.A., Cape Colony: I had great pleasure in meeting Dr. Holub at Cape Town, where I enjoyed half an hour's interview with him. It was one of the most interesting interviews I have ever had with any individual. He then related to me his experiences of his travels in such a graphic way that one could see the objects before him through which he had passed, and the class of people among whom he had mixed. I certainly thought, as I then listened to him, that he had the material in him of what we call a traveller in the best sense of the term. He was self-denying, full of life, strong and healthy, and capable of going through any amount of hardship and trial, and I trust his life will long be spared to carry out what he seems to have made the purpose of his life, and if so, then I am sure he will be one of the most distinguished travellers we have ever had in South Africa. (Hear, hear.) But I came here myself to-night to hear a little more about Cape Colonial progress than he has given, for I knew that Dr. Holub was a very close observer, and I desired to hear his impressions of Cape Colony itself and its people. However, he has travelled over so much ground in his other experiences in Southern Africa, that one is surprised that he has been able in the short space of an hour to go over so much description as he has done, and throughout be able to make us realise what he has seen and what he has done. On the great work of progress going on silently but steadily in South Africa, I agree with him. Nay, I go further than he does, and add that that progress is more rapid and thorough than he has sketched it, extending from the British Colonies up to as far as Zanzibar and beyond. And if I should not be wearying this assembly, I would give some illustrations in argument for this view, derived from my own long experience of South Africa itself. Twenty years ago, for instance, I came home from that Colony, and the steamer service then was a monthly service performed in vessels of from 500 to 700 tons. At the present time there are two steamers leaving every week, or eight steamers a month. One of these large steamers of 3,000 to 4,000 tons will carry nearly as

much as all the twelve steamers in a year that met all the wants of South Africa twenty years ago. And the progress indicated in that single illustration is something too vast to be explained by the mere doings of the limited European population there; the native populations who are being awakened to the new and better life of industrial occupations, are undoubtedly largely contributory to it, and through their contributions, and through that alone, it is that Cape Colony has thus during the period named outrun in progress any other British Colony perhaps to be named. Colonel Warren has referred to the importation of ploughs into the part of the country where he has been, and he is well acquainted with what is going on in what I may term his own country—namely, Griqualand West; but from what I have witnessed, as one long stationed at what I may term the great door of entrance to South Africa—I mean Port Elizabeth—I know that other native territories, even yet more than Griqualand, have been going in for the plough, and that to-day the importations of ploughs are in thousands where formerly they were not in hundreds when I first (some thirty years ago) opened up that trade. You cannot travel along a single road into the interior from Port Elizabeth without seeing waggon-load after waggon-load of ploughs destined for native use. (Hear, hear.) What does all that mean? Why, that our colonisation in South Africa is stimulating the whole native populations there into the better life, as I have described it, of industrious, peaceful, prosperous communities. Go not only to the Griquas, but also to the Basutos, and see there in Basutoland ranges of country waving with corn, and to such continuous extent as would astonish even people accustomed to the wide cornfields of the mother-country, and they are increasing the cultured areas day by day. (Hear, hear.) Another illustration of South African progress I will give you. At the present time the customs dues of the Cape Colony alone are at the rate of a million sterling a year. These dues are on an average ten per cent. on the value of the imported goods; and a million a year, therefore, of customs dues you may consider represents roughly importations approaching ten million pounds sterling per annum into Cape Colony alone. Now nine-tenths of the whole of those goods come from Great Britain; and the lesson I wish to impress upon the meeting from this fact is, the untold value to the mother-country of our Colonial possessions in the demand which they make for the goods the manufacture of which gives such profitable employment to the teeming myriads of the old country. You have sent to South Africa not a third of a million of Europeans, all told, and these have awakened an industry

there which finds the means of paying for nearly ten millions sterling a year on imported goods, and nearly all from England, because, as the Right Hon. Mr. Forster so well said at your last meeting, trade follows the flag. Think what the trade from Britain to the United States would have been to-day if England's flag had still floated there. Not forty-five millions sterling only, as by last year's statistics, but many times that amount, judging by the doings of Cape Colony as an importing country. (Hear, hear.) It is this that makes me and other colonists feel so keenly the deprecatory strain in which some would-be leaders of public opinion here speak of our Colonial dominions as possessions the growth of which is rather to be checked than encouraged. They tell you that it is as good to have the United States as our own Colonies to which our superabundant population may swarm off. Well, for those who go abroad it may be conceded perhaps that it may be so; but for those who remain behind in the old country it certainly is not so. In Cape Colony, as I have already said, every man, woman, and child—white and black—takes from you ten pounds' worth of goods, and gives all the employment to your people implied thereby. In the United States all that each man, woman, and child requires there of your goods is only one pound's worth per head—a very different thing. The Colonies are your strength. They are not your weakening, but your strengthening and your making. They are joined to you by sentimental ties, which wise statesmanship will never seek to disrupt. The strength of that sentimental tie is shown in the language in which every colonist, of whatever national origin, speaks of the old country. He even calls it home, never speaking of it by any other name. It is far different with those who go to the United States. Home is not the endearing term in which they speak most frequently of England. What, then, is the conclusion of all this but that English politicians should learn to cherish our Colonial dominions, and to glory in their extension. When they have ceased to grow and extend, death and decay have begun to attack the Empire nearer the heart thereof than in the distant Colonial possessions. We could not long exist without that free and illimitable field for our enterprising population which our Colonial possessions offer. You have heard of Nihilism in Russia—the worship of the spirit of destruction which is being set up there. If some great catastrophe were to occur to-morrow by which at one swoop England's Colonial possessions should all be cut off from here, and there should be then no longer that free field for her superabundant population to swarm off to, I fear that the spirit of Nihilism—the spirit of destruction

—would soon be invoked here, too, by our discontented, suffering, over-crowded classes ; and is that an issue which those who rant against Colonial growth and Colonial extension desire to see brought about ? (Hear, hear.) I believe that nothing tends so much to keep our people so contented with their situation as they are as the free field offered to all its adventurous spirits in our wide Colonial dominions. (Hear, hear.) I will add another reflection here. Not merely does the colonist become the best of all consumers for the productions of the old country, and thereby add to the general wealth and well-being of the population he has left behind him when he has gone abroad, but he becomes to his own particular circle of relatives and friends the helping brother, the helping relative, the helping friend, and his whole connection feels itself rising with his success and his rise. This I have witnessed in South Africa to a most wonderful and pleasing extent, how from one solitary member of a family who has gone abroad to the Cape there has been diffused, from his success, through his whole family connection, improved well-being, new hopes, higher aspirations, and the whole family has risen, not merely in what may be named comfort, but even in habit and character as well. Is not that worth taking into account when the Colonial question is being discussed ? (Hear, hear.) But I have gone away from the subject of this evening's discussion ; yet things were uttered by the lecturer suggestive of these reflections in the great work of progress referred to by him as at present going on and to be greatly stimulated among the population of South Africa. (Hear, hear.) We have now passed through there, what Colonel Warren has so well described as the war epidemic, and with the convalescence of peace, it is well to dwell a little on the hopes for the old country which a period of healthy development of the teeming resources of South Africa may bring to its people. The home people with the colonists will share in the advantages. Great things are yet to be done in South Africa. Its native populations, although spoken of here as only a race of savages, have many estimable qualities in their nature. They are in many respects most trustworthy. Their very devotion to their chiefs, which in past times has given us so much trouble, is but one of the many forms of faithfulness which it is customary to admire ; and business men of South Africa will all join with me in testifying to the trustworthiness with which a very useful class of natives—I mean Kafir and Fingo waggoners—carry goods for merchants any distance. During the many years I have been connected with South Africa, I do not remember but one case of a native carrier who ever made away with a single package of goods entrusted to

his charge ; and yet these native transport-riders convey many hundreds of thousands of value of goods every year from Port Elizabeth into far interior towns. The native may not be able to sign his name for receipt of the goods ; you may feel, as you are loading up your goods with him, that if he made away with them you would not be able to recognise him from any other native, so like do they all seem to one another ; but his trustworthiness as a carrier is so established by long experience that, without misgiving, you entrust to him your goods, and if he has to carry them many hundreds of miles, in due course they are all honestly and faithfully delivered. With such a native population there is something to be done—much to be done—and surely Dr. Holub this evening has not over-painted the development and progress which may be predicated of South Africa in the future. I individually thank him very much for his interesting sketch given to us this evening, and I am sure I am right in assuming that all here will join with me in our warmest acknowledgments for his admirable paper, and in wishing him God-speed in the good work to which he has shown us this evening he is desirous of consecrating his life. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

MR. J. L. BRADFIELD, M.L.A., Cape Colony : At this late hour of the evening I should be consulting the convenience of this assembly by making my observations as brief as possible. I quite believe that the scheme propounded by the lecturer this evening is fairly practicable now, and that a few years ago such an idea would have been regarded as almost insane ; but since we have seen the wonderful progress made at the Diamond Fields, and the progress and civilisation extended by that means, I think we can come to that conclusion safely.

DR. CHARLES GORDON : I shall make my address very brief. Dr. Holub has stated that during the last two years, owing to a law having been passed to prevent guns, arms, powder, and ammunition being imported into the interior of South Africa, great benefit has been done to the country and the people. Perhaps, not having resided long in the country, he may not know, too, that there were laws previous to that time prohibiting the natives receiving arms and ammunition. I do not know the laws of Cape Colony, but I give it the credit of having passed a law to prevent the introduction of arms and ammunition ; as also other States of South Africa, including the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, Natal, and others, many years ago. It is to be regretted that during the years 1870, 1871, and 1872, those laws were very much relaxed, in what manner I cannot say ; but there is no doubt that an immense number



of guns and munitions of war were introduced into the interior of Africa. What I wish to state more especially is, that there were States which had these laws altered during those years, in which it was a very profitable thing to sell guns and ammunition in the interior of Africa. The Orange Free State resisted the introduction of arms and ammunition. Questions arose between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on account of the introduction of arms, and the Natal Government steadily resisted during those years, and up to the present day, the introduction of arms for any other purpose than for the use of the white man. I was for many years a resident in Africa, and I have had great pleasure in hearing the lecture of Dr. Holub. A good deal of it has been interesting to me, and I have learnt much that I did not know before. I only hope and trust that Dr. Holub's health will be such that he may be enabled to do greater work still. (Hear, hear.)

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB: One observation I would wish to make with regard to the conclusion to which Dr. Holub has so forcibly drawn your attention to-night, and that is as to the very great apparent advantage that would be gained if his proposals were carried out, and even without further investigation, if they were found to be absolutely correct. It is on broad grounds that I altogether differ from the theory that would suppose British enterprise and industry choosing the eastern coast of Africa as a starting-point to open up Africa. My broad grounds are simply these—that I would rather do it from any other point of the coast than from the east coast; for the simple reason that I think we are already hard pressed to get the commerce we already possess through the Suez Canal; and I object to adding to this traffic in times of peace, for the difficulties which it would create in times of war. Therefore I think Dr. Holub's explorations and the conclusions at which he has arrived are a very material gain to our British possessions, not only with reference to South Africa—for I decline to take in a detailed view of it—but our British possessions as a united Empire. I contend it is of the greatest possible advantage that we should use that base which our fathers have gained for us—the base of the southern extremity of Africa—to open up the central part of that continent. Another remark I would further make is this—that I wish those who have been clamouring during the past year or two for stimulating British progress in South Africa could have heard the lecture to-night—(hear, hear)—because we are accustomed to hear, on the one hand, of magnificent philanthropic schemes of British enterprise being undertaken to civilise all the world, and the same people are too apt when difficult emergencies

arise, as they have done in South Africa, to wish to wash their hands of them, or to convert the British Empire into a limited liability company. (Laughter.) Therefore I do hope that the admirable lecture and description we have had to-night will have a very wide circulation, and will not be without its influence when this South African question attracts the attention of what we call the Imperial Parliament—(laughter)—because I think it would open people's eyes to see that by playing the old English part of a manly, straightforward course of facing our responsibilities, and looking to the future for our reward, we need not be afraid of meeting those responsibilities; and if we do so boldly and courageously, most assuredly we shall get our reward. I trust that this lecture will not be without its influence, and that the future development of the civilisation of South Africa will not be thrown away by the ignorance of the British people at home. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON (Church Missionary Society): I feel a great difficulty in following all the subjects touched upon this evening. I came merely to hear Dr. Holub's lecture with reference to the opening up of Central Africa from the Cape Colony, which he seems to promise as an event of no distant date. I have given a good deal of attention to the best routes for penetrating Central Africa. We have attempted the routes by the Nile and from the East coast, and are hoping to open up a route from the Upper Niger. I listened with great pleasure to the views expressed by Dr. Holub as to the route from the south. But the conclusion I draw is this—that unless under the auspices of such a man as the King of the Belgians, no available route will be established from the Colony to the interior of Central Africa through the Bechuana country, because there is really no long distance traffic that will pay. I gathered from the lecture that the small local traffic had rather fallen off, and also that the Bechuanas were improving their agricultural prospects, and might export grain to the South, taking in return such manufactured goods as they might need. But this exchange would not create long distance traffic from Central Africa, without which this scheme could never be a great highway for reaching the interior of Africa. There is another difficulty in the way, and that is with respect to the Portuguese concession. I suppose that Dr. Holub knows that within the last eighteen months there has been started a large Company in France, to whom the Portuguese Government have given a concession over the forests and mines, extending along the whole course of the Zambesi. I quite agree with what Dr. Holub has said as to the thorough grasp at one time held by Portugal of the continent from Congo to Mozambique.

Their records, if we choose to investigate them, show a knowledge of the continent which extends back as far as the year 1591 ; a knowledge, too, which shows that they thoroughly understood and knew all the geographical features of the continent. Well, the Portuguese holding this strong frontier line, I do not think they will step out of the way to allow the commerce of South Africa to go across their line into the interior. A further difficulty in the way of utilising the route mentioned by Dr. Holub is the most unhealthy and malarious character of the Barotse Valley, which is flooded for half the year. I have always held, and still think, that it is better to say out what one thinks of the prospect of large commercial enterprise in Central Africa. I believe the time is far off when any large amount of new traffic will find its way from the East coast, or by any other route to the interior. I do not think the gentleman who spoke last need fear the Suez Canal being blocked by Manchester goods finding their way into the Canal for Central Africa. I have listened with interest to what has been said as to the progress of the Cape Colony ; though I have not been there for some years, I have a sincere interest in the Colony, and I have listened with great pleasure and interest to all that has passed ; and particularly do I join in the hope that, along with the gradual expansion and development of traffic, and the gradual growth and consolidation of the Colonial power, there will be the improvement in every way of those tribes of whom Dr. Holub has spoken.

THE NOBLE CHAIRMAN : I have now to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Holub for his interesting lecture. We all were astonished lately at the energy displayed by a great public man in travelling in very cold weather and making a succession of brilliant orations. We admired his physical powers and his enormous energy ; but I think we have here an instance almost as great, for Dr. Holub has come all the way from Prague on purpose to deliver this address. He has left the exhibition of articles which he has brought from Central Africa, and which he is exhibiting there, at which his presence is much desired by the trains-full of people who come to visit it. He has come, at Mr. Young's request, to address us and give us this most interesting information, and returns to-morrow night to Prague. (Hear, hear.) I think we may admire his energy as much as we have admired Mr. Gladstone's, and, for my part, I thank him more for it. (Laughter.) Dr. Holub apologised, notwithstanding the able, distinct, and well-arranged speech we have heard, for not talking good English. But I think we should find it difficult to comply with his request for forgiveness, because

there is none to be accorded to him in that respect. (Hear, hear.) I am also grateful to him that he, although born an Austrian, should show the sympathy with us and with the British Colonies which he has done in the course of his address ; for he has spoken of our interests and trade as if they were his own. I am proud that British colonists should have been able to earn as much sympathy from one who was not born an Englishman—(cheers)—and I am proud also to hear from him the assurance which he has given of the benefits which British colonisation has been conferring on the natives of Africa. I really was not aware that so much advance had been already made by those natives as appears to be the fact from Dr. Holub's description. With regard to what Mr. Hutchinson has just said, I should imagine from Dr. Holub's description, and talking as he did of the power of producing corn and cereals and cotton, that the means of carriage would be so cheap, perhaps on the part of the natives themselves, as to enable those articles to be transported from great distances. But he also mentioned another thing, which led to the occupation and colonisation of California, as we know, and that was gold. Now, if there is any country where there is quartz to the extent of twenty-eight ounces per ton, that must be far richer than any gold district existing in the world. I believe there is no hotter country where there is such a large proportion of gold to the ton of quartz ; and that alone, if the country once became open, if gold miners could go there with any facility, would, I think, lead to enormous development of the country. (Hear, hear.) I only hope that Dr. Holub's most interesting and wise suggestions may on some occasion be carried out, and that he may live to see still further progress on the part of those countries which he has so ably described.

The proposed vote of thanks was passed unanimously to Dr. Holub.

Dr. HOLUB, in reply, said : I must confess that I really cannot describe my feelings, as your expressions of gratitude have overpowered me so far the great and, as I believe, undeserved kindness which you have shown. But before I depart, I think it is my duty to make a few remarks on the suggestions made by Mr. Hutchinson. I believe it is quite right that every important question should be properly ventilated, and many a suggestion heard and answered. I will answer only with a very few words. First, whether the Portuguese had a right to give away and grant the valley of the Zambesi, as they in reality possess only here and there a fort or an earth-work. On all maps we find the Portuguese territory of great extent ; but on many places on the East coast near to Delagoa Bay,

the Portuguese power goes no further in the mainland than a bullet goes from the gun. When, about eighteen months ago, the natives around Lorenzo Marques became a little threatening, the Portuguese took refuge on an island. How are they to grant the Zambesi valley, which to nine-tenths belongs to free natives? Yes, to give them away, that the one who has been presented with it had first to fight for it; but that is not my way of colonisation. The colonisation must go in peace forward, and then we shall get strong. Then, with regard to our trade, they ought to suggest to the King of Portugal that these Colonies are useless to Portugal. If those in Portugal would abandon their eastern ports for the benefit of Great Britain, we will promise if we go over the Zambesi not to go over the western bank of it, which would for ever leave the west coast to the Portuguese for their own. If we successfully cross the Zambesi, and again, like under Sepopo, gain the trade with the Marutse, the whole trade of the proper heart of Africa will fall into our hands by itself, our traders and goods being always preferred to those of the Portuguese traders as often as they accidentally come on the same market in South and Central Africa. Look back, gentlemen, at what I have already said; remember Sepopo: he changed his residence to be nearer the English traders, to deal with the English, so that if we bring in the Portuguese they are nowhere. Besides this, remember the whole way of Portuguese trading. I know their mode of trading, and how they bring their goods in, and all that is connected with some of the difficulties of the situation with the natives. They bring in their goods by carriers, and if I can bring about £5,000 worth of goods up with a single waggon into the Marutse empire, the Portuguese trader has to make use of 800 carriers before he can bring the same quantity in those parts; and then easily we may soon compete with him. With regard to the malaria fever, I must say that in October, November, and December there is intermittent dysentery, and in January, February, and March there is malaria fever. I know that fever well; I have been ill for sixteen months with that fever. I was taken ill on December 3rd, and on December 4th one of my canoes, containing my medical things and provisions, capsized, and thus I lost all my medicine. We must take this into consideration; and if we ever penetrate into those parts there are lots of things to be done, and specially two questions must be solved: one is the malaria, and the one of the *tsetse* secret. I have considered that in these parts it is said that this poisonous fly is the cause of death of our domestic animals. I consider that to be a cause, because only I could not find another cause for their death. I am not sure

that I can give you the whole reason which kills the domestic animals, and stops our approach into the interior. We must get at the bottom of this mystery, take it in hand, and to do it in this way, that two very skilful veterinary surgeons from home must be sent out to a spot like Delagoa Bay, and then certain domestic animals must be sacrificed and brought into the stables and in contact with tsetse flies, and in this way we must close the doors and see by observation whether it is poison, and what is the proper medicine to use against animal poisoning. With regard to the second obstacle, the malaria fever, I have another opinion. I would propose that the Government should call a congress of medical men who have had experience about malaria fever from the West Indies, East Indies, and from all parts where malaria fever is so very destructive, and that everyone brings forward his best experience on the subject. They shall sit together to consider the subject in a proper and scientific way, and to ascertain the best possible treatment, which shall be printed in a pamphlet and given to the people in those parts, whom we like to bring into the interior as the pioneers of colonisation. Gentlemen, I repeat, all what I have said is a mere rough outline-sketch ; the subject was so large that I was not able to go into details, but every point can be, at any time it pleases you, "in minimum" ventilated. (Loud applause.)

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### THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the "Pall Mall," on Tuesday, 20th January, 1880. His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., Chairman of Council, presided. Among those present were the following :—

Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Hon. T. McIlwraith (Premier of Queensland), Mr. Joseph Doutre, Q.C. (Canada), Captain Bell, R.E., V.C.; Messrs. E. Lef. de Bellefeuille (Canada), H. M. Whitehead, Alexander M. Aitkin (Straits Settlements), Sidney Montefiore, Thomas Macfarland (New South Wales), Rev. A. S. Herring, Dr. J. Mackenzie Gordon (New South Wales), Major C. Carpenter, R.A.; Messrs. Andrew McIlwraith, H. E. Montgomerie (Canada), G. Molineux, R. J. Jeffray (Melbourne), John S. Hill, F. P. Labillière, Dr. Stone (Canada), Dr. W. Dickson, R.N.; Dr. J. R. D. Wolf (Nova Scotia), Messrs. W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), C. Bischoff (Canada), Edward Chapman (Sydney), J. S. Southland (Sydney), Mr. and Mrs. Fithian, Messrs. H. J. B. Darby, J. H. Davies, C. Plummer, W. Plummer, A. Nathan, Adolphe Seidler, Carlisle, R. A. Strickland, B. Pelly, J. C. O. Townsend, H. D. Hammond, Everard P. Lemprière, Henry Poland, John A. Wood, Mr. and Miss E. Hosach, Miss Appleton, Miss Blackemore, Major Lloyd, Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P.; Mr. Justin H. McCarthy and Miss McCarthy, Messrs. Joseph Beaumont, James H. Greathhead (Cape Colony), S. B. Browning (New Zealand), R. J. Kingstry, Charles C. Richardson, Frederick Fearon (Canada), S. W. Silver, Frederick W. Stone (Canada), W. Fraser Rae, R. Applegarth, Fred. W. Hyde (South Africa), Harry S. Caldecott (Cape Colony), James Rice (Canada), Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, Rev. H. E. Desmond, Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Deverell, Messrs. William Jeffries, Stephen Bourne, H. B. Halswell, Henry Nathan (British Columbia, Hon. Donald A. Smith, M.P. (Canada), Miss Smith (Canada), Dr. P. Sinclair Laing (Canada), Messrs. W. Rutherford, J. V. Irwin, W. Ruskin, John Baker, Alexander Rogers (late Bombay), Sir John Coode, Mr. and Mrs. Payne (Melbourne), Miss Payne (Melbourne), Mrs. F. W. Payne (Melbourne), Mr. and Mrs. Ashwood (West Africa), Mr. and Mrs. W. Westgarth, Messrs. F. A. Gwynne, A. B. Abraham, George H. Lane, W. W. Moore, P. Badcock, Thomas Hamilton, R. W. Shire, Charles T. Clay, George Peacock (Cape Colony), A. W. Corum, C. E. Atkinson (Cape Colony), W. N. Waller, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Muir (Canada), the Misses Muir, Dr. John Rae, Mr. Claude H. Long and Miss Long (Canada), Mr. John H. Fitt (Barbados), Mr. J. Banks Taylor, Mr. Mitchinson, Mr. F. Young (Hon. Secretary), and Miss Ada M. Young.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG (Honorary Secretary) read the minutes of the Second Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed. He also announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows since the last meeting :—

Resident Fellows: Philip Badcock, Esq.; Colville A. D. Barclay, Esq., C.M.G. (late Auditor-General, Ceylon), W. W. Cargill, Esq.; John C.

Coode, Esq., C.E.; Colonel T. G. Glover, R.E.; Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Henry Nourse, Esq. (Natal), J. J. Smith, Esq.; Lieut.-Colonel C. Warren, R.E., C.M.G.

Non-Resident Fellows: D. Benjamin, Esq. (Cape Colony), P. Macaulay Browne, Esq. (British Guiana), W. Chisholm, Esq. (Griqualand West), W. R. Collyer, Esq. (Sierra Leone), John Davidson, Esq. (Jamaica), Fredk. Evans, Esq. (Sierra Leone), J. A. Fairfax, Esq. (New South Wales), William Grant, Esq. (Sierra Leone), N. E. Lewis, Esq. (Tasmania), Thomas Macfarland, Esq. (New South Wales), F. W. Payne, Esq., jun. (Victoria), Capt. H.F. Richmond (Sierra Leone), J. Paton Watt, Esq. (British Guiana).

Donations of books, &c., had been presented to the Institute by the following :—

By the Government of New South Wales :

Statutes of New South Wales, 1878-79.

By the Governor of New Zealand :

Parliamentary Papers and Debates, 1879.

By the Government Statist of Victoria :

Statistical Register of Victoria, Parts V., VI., and VII., 1878.

By the Government Astronomer of South Australia :

Rainfall in South Australia during 1878.

By the Government Botanist for Victoria :

Eucalyptographia. A Descriptive Atlas of the Eucalypts of Australia, by Baron Ferd. Von Mueller, K.C.M.G. 4 decade.

By the Agent-General for New South Wales :

Statistical Register of New South Wales.

By the Victorian Commission at the Paris Exhibition :

Report, 1878.

By the Royal Institute of British Architects :

The President's Address, 1879-80.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, Vol. II., No. 1, 1880. Index to the Proceedings of the Society, Vol. I., 1879.

By the Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham :

Map of "Sekukuni's" Country, 1879. Reconnaissance Sketch of Kabul, 1842.

By the Editor :

The Westminster Review, January, 1880.

By Dr. Emil Holub :

A Few Words on the Native Question, South Africa; The Victoria Falls; A few Pages from the Diary of Dr. Emil Holub, 1879.

By G. S. Baden Powell, Esq. :

Victoria-Britannia, 1870.

By H. M. Hull, Esq. :

Salmon Commissioners' Report, Tasmania, 1879; Report of the Officer of Health, 1878.



By John Noble, Esq. :

Statute Law of the Cape of Good Hope, 1714-1833.

By Messrs. Dalgleish & Reed :

Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand, December, 1879.

By William Westgarth, Esq. :

Statistics of Tasmania, 1878; Statistical Register of Victoria, Part V. and VI.; Australasian Statistics.

By Stephen Bourne, Esq. :

Extended Colonisation, a Necessity to the Mother-country, 1880.

By James L. Ohlson, Esq. :

The British Sugar Industries and Foreign Export Bounties.

By Sidney Levien, Esq. :

The Handbook of Jamaica, Parts I. and II.

By Capt. W. J. Wyatt :

Liberalism *versus* Conservatism.

The CHAIRMAN submitted to the meeting the names of Mr. G. Molineux on behalf of the Council, and Mr. W. Westgarth on behalf of the Fellows, as Auditors for the present financial year, in conformity with Rule 48. Both gentlemen were unanimously elected.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Honorary Secretary to read the Paper for the evening, written and forwarded to the Institute by Mr. J. G. BOURINOT, Clerk-Assistant of the House of Commons, Canada, entitled "The National Development of Canada."

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: In undertaking to read this Paper this evening for Mr. Bourinot, I ought perhaps to explain that on ordinary occasions we are glad to have the authors of Papers to read their own; but it happens that some of our non-resident members occasionally kindly contribute Papers to be read for them, when they cannot read them themselves, and when this is the case I am always happy to read them for them.

## THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA.

Not very many years ago it was a common subject of complaint among Canadians that the importance of their country from a national point of view was very far from being appreciated by the people of Great Britain. With the exception of some statesmen and officials, who were forced to study Canadian questions, few persons in the mother-country knew anything of the British North-American Colonies, or seemed anxious to inform themselves as to their progress and resources. When Englishmen were sent out by Downing-street to administer the Government, some of them did not always enter on their duties with any very great degree of pleasure, but appeared too often to consider themselves as in some

measure political exiles. Even so distinguished a statesman as Lord Sydenham seemed to feel that his onerous task of reconciling antagonistic political elements, and cementing the foundations of a new constitutional system in a country torn asunder by political factions and national antipathies, was hardly valued as it ought to be by the statesmen and publicists of England. "So though I write to you in high spirits, and recount my *hautes faits*," said this distinguished Governor in a letter to an English friend just before his death, "you need not think that I shall come back bragging of them, or expect to find that they have rendered me half so *marquant* a person, as a good speech in the House of Commons, or a successful breakfast at Greenwich would have done." But this was a mere humorous expression of feeling compared with the bitter utterances of Canadians who, time and again, found their affairs slighted, and themselves considered as a sort of social Pariahs whenever they had occasion to visit the parent state. The reason for such sentiments of outraged pride is obvious enough. Canadians have always felt a warm attachment for their "old home;" and ever anxious for some recognition of their claims to the notice and respect of the mother-country, they have naturally fretted under that supreme indifference, almost contemptuous indifference, which, too long, was meted out to the people of England's Colonial dependencies.

But now, *nous avons changé tout cela*. It can no longer be said that this indifference has any existence, so far as Canada is concerned. For some years past, ever since the establishment of the Federal Union, the attention of the statesmen and the publicists of England has been directed to the development of her Premier Colony, and not only on the floor of Parliament, but on the public platform, and in the periodicals and journals of the day has she been encouraged in her work of progress. The consolidation of the Empire in North America is necessarily a national work, calculated to engage the sympathies of British statesmen, and it is not strange that so many of them have at last been brought to consider whether prosperous communities with so many elements of greatness could not be brought into more intimate relations with the Empire at large.

Probably no more significant fact can be given in this connection than the constant influx every year of distinguished visitors from the British Isles, desirous of seeing for themselves the evidences of the wealth and capabilities of Canada. During the past summer, for instance, Canada was visited by several agricultural delegates, who have been able to inform themselves on those features of

Canadian development which are of practical value to the masses of the mother-country, now suffering under the miseries arising from poor harvests and manufacturing depression. But this is only one among many facts which illustrate the attention that is at last being directed to a country which has, within thirty years, attained a high position among commercial and industrial communities.

Under these circumstances, the present is an opportune time for reviewing some of the most salient features of the political system which has, within so short a period, given so remarkable a stimulus to the industrial progress of the Dominion, and for presenting at the same time some facts which show the high position it occupies among the dependencies of England. In such a review, it is not the pretension of the writer to bring forward any original ideas, for the subject is one that has been treated in many ways of late years; but all he hopes to do is to group together in a single paper certain facts and opinions which he has had special facilities for collecting, and which may contribute to the discussion of a subject which ought to be interesting to everyone who values the integrity of the Empire.

The liberal system of Government which Canada now enjoys was not the sudden inspiration of some eminent statesman, or the issue of the fertile brain of some philosopher, following the example of the illustrious Locke, who devised an elaborate constitution for South Carolina, in which landgraves and caciques were to represent a Colonial nobility. The constitution of Canada, on the contrary, is the practical outcome of the experience of astute statesmen. It has not been won in a decade or two, but is the result of three-quarters of a century of political agitation, during which English statesmen have been taught the folly of old Colonial administration, and have acknowledged the wisdom of meddling as little as possible with Colonial affairs. Previous to the American War of Independence, the English Government paid very little attention to the progress of matters in the Colonies, and appeared to have no fixed principle of Colonial policy except that their trade should be kept as closely as possible in English hands. But when the old Colonies had severed their connection with England, and won their place among independent nations, the men who controlled the Government of the Empire shook off their supineness and went to the other extreme. Awakened at last to the importance of Colonial administration, the Imperial authorities showed every disposition to educate the people of Canada in self-government; but, unfortunately, the system under which this was to be done was

based on erroneous principles from the outset. No doubt the difficulties which an English Minister entrusted with Colonial administration had to encounter in those days were calculated to perplex him, and prevent too often the wisest solution of some intricate political problem. It must now, however, be admitted by the impartial historian that the authorities in England, however ignorant they might be at times of the true situation of affairs, or incapable of administering the best remedy, were, as a rule, sincerely desirous of governing for the good of the majority, and were very far from harbouring the idea of perpetuating any injustice or oppression. But it was very difficult for a British Minister, in those days of slow communications, to obtain a true insight into the causes of Canadian grievances, and provide some remedies for the notorious discontent that commenced to gain ground after the war of 1812 in Canada. The men who should have kept them informed as to the true situation of affairs were not always well chosen in point of political training. The military Governors, who were generally the choice of the Colonial Office, were too choleric and impatient of opposition, and seemed too often to think restless Colonial politicians could be managed as a regiment of soldiers. Obstinate Canadians who did not look at matters through the gubernatorial spectacles were lectured and scolded like so many unruly school-boys. If the birch-rod could not be applied, at all events they could be dismissed with some such severe reprimand as Sir James Craig was always ready to administer to the Quebec Legislative Assembly, when it obstinately asserted its claim to a legitimate influence in the government of the Province. Guided and influenced almost solely by the official party in the provinces, the Governors were seldom able to assume that dignified position of independence which would have helped them to deal successfully with popular grievances, and give them real weight and power among the people. But, however excellent might have been their intentions, they were powerless in the face of a constitutional system which was worked on principles well calculated to provoke political difficulties. It was inevitable that a system which gave all the substantial power to officials who owed no responsibility to the people, could only lead to endless complications according as the masses understood the true meaning and intent of representative institutions. It was a mere mockery for the British Government to give the people of British North America a representative system whilst they refused its logical sequence in the form of a government which was sustained by and owed responsibility to the popular or elected house.

Such a system was at variance with the constitution of England, of which the Colonial constitution was to be "the transcript," so far as "the circumstances of the country permitted." The British authorities, however, for very many years, never could be brought to believe that the "circumstances" of Canada admitted the exact reproduction in the Colony of the system of responsible government. And yet every day's history illustrated the impossibility of keeping the power in the hands of an irresponsible Executive, only supported by a nominated branch, filled with officials and dominated by a desire to impede the legislation of the popular body, which, however factious and overbearing at times, had at least reason and justice on its side in its claim for a share in the government of the country. In Lower Canada the gravity of the situation was increased by the growth of national rivalry and animosities, but there, as in all other parts of British America, the existing evils had their origin in the political system. From Halifax to York there was an irresponsible executive; the two Houses were constantly in collision; the country was governed by a bureaucracy, or a "family compact;" and to complicate matters still more and add to the public irritation, the Imperial Government was constantly interfering in matters on which they had no reliable information, and which, in any case, should have been left wholly to the Provincial Governments. To suppose that such a system would work well "implied a belief that Canadians could enjoy representative institutions for half a century without acquiring any of the characteristics of a free people; that Englishmen renounced every political opinion and feeling when they entered a Colony, or that the spirit of Anglo-Saxon freedom was utterly changed and weakened among those who were transplanted across the Atlantic."\*

Unhappily, it was not till some misguided men broke out into rebellion, that the British Government felt itself compelled to take practical measures to inquire into the causes of disaffection in Canada. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the services of Lord Durham during this national crisis. Canada owes him a deep debt of gratitude for a Report, remarkable for its fairness, its perfect appreciation of the causes of the discontent, and its wise suggestions of the remedy that ought to be immediately provided. The result was the new Constitution of 1840, under which the Canadas were again united in one Legislature, and their constitutional rights considerably enlarged; but even then, despite

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\* Lord Durham's Report, 1839.

the lessons taught them by the past, British statesmen hesitated to grant responsible government in the full meaning of the term to the Colonies. Though Lord John Russell was far from conceding the principle in its entirety, yet the effect of his policy was virtually to inaugurate responsible government, as desired by Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Howe, and other eminent Canadians of those times. Personal government was virtually at an end from the moment the principle was admitted that the advisers of the Governors should be at times changed from motives of public policy. Lord Metcalfe, on the question of patronage, brought himself into collision with his Government, and in order to obtain a majority in support of his views, exerted his personal influence at the elections; but, as it has been well observed, the advantage which he then gained "was dearly purchased by the circumstance that the Parliamentary Opposition was no longer directed merely against the advisers of the Governor, but against the Governor himself, and the British Government of which he was the organ." The action of Lord Metcalfe in this crisis had certainly its effect in settling for ever the principles on which the Government of Canada should be conducted. When Lord Elgin was appointed Governor-General, he was the first to receive instructions to act generally upon the advice of the Executive Council, and "to take as members of that body those persons who might be pointed out to him as entitled to do so by their possessing the confidence of the Assembly." From that day to this, the representatives of the Queen have never swerved from the principle of governing in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Parliament. In these later times, on the occasion of a very perplexing crisis in political affairs, Lord Dufferin well expressed the duty of a Governor under the system of government which now prevails in Canada:—

"My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada . . . To those men alone, whom the absolute will of the Confederate Parliament of the Dominion may assign to me as my responsible advisers, can I give my confidence. Whether they are the heads of this party or that, must be a matter of indifference to the Governor-General. So long as they are maintained by Parliament in their positions, so long is he bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and loyally to assist them with his counsels."

The Union of 1841 was therefore the commencement of a new era in the political history of British North America. It was the

commencement of an epoch in which all the mistakes of the old Colonial system under which the province languished were retrieved. For half a century, Downing Street had been omnipotent, and literally meddled only to muddle; but with the new condition of affairs, British statesmen showed an anxiety in the other direction, of only exercising a nominal control over Canadian matters, and conceding to Canadians all those measures which they considered necessary for the better government of the country. After refusing to Lower Canada for years an Elective Legislative Council, it was granted without demur to the United Canadas. As a result of the introduction of the principle of self-government, municipal institutions spread over the country, and freed the Legislature from a vast amount of mere parish work, whilst it stimulated the energies of the people, and educated them in public business. School-houses went up in every district, and it was no longer a subject of reproach that schoolmasters in many sections were not even able to teach their pupils to write. The result was, in the course of a very few years, an educational system which is confessedly the most comprehensive and the cheapest in the world. Steps were taken to establish a Civil Service which can compare favourably with its English prototype, despite the influence of political favouritism and pressure, which tends to overcrowd the departments, and prevent too often justice being done to real merit and usefulness.

The tendency of the old policy that prevailed with respect to the British American Provinces, previous to the visit of Lord Durham, was isolation. The statesmen of Great Britain directed all their efforts to govern the Colonies by means of division, and to break them down as much as possible into petty isolated communities, incapable of combination, and possessing no sufficient strength for individual resistance to the Empire. The Union of 1841 was the first great step in the direction of the consolidation of the Empire on the northern part of this continent. It did its work in stimulating the progress of the Canadas, and educating their public men for a broader field of Colonial emulation. The necessity of uniting all the provinces became obvious, when the Union of 1841 no longer worked harmoniously on account of the jealousies and rivalries of the two sections: Upper Canada would not be content with a representation equal to that of the French Canadian Province, with its much smaller population and wealth. Government was practically at a dead-lock when the public men of both political parties combined to bring about a Confederation as a solution of the difficulties which otherwise were insurmountable.

Under this plan of Confederation the provinces have reached a political status of the most perfect freedom compatible with the position of a dependency. The control which Canada exercises over her local affairs is perfectly unlimited, and from the Island of Cape Breton to the Island of Vancouver, her Central Government at Ottawa rules a "dominion" which, if not a nation in name and fact, possesses all the elements of such. The natural aspirations of her public men have been gratified by the opening up of a wider field of ambition. Not only may the Government at Ottawa appoint and dismiss the governors of each province, but it has been given the territorial control of a vast region of country, far larger than many European states, and it has the power of marking out new provinces, and establishing therein a system of government. Our system of government no longer rests on the mere instruction of a Colonial Secretary of State to the Governor-General, but *has* all the authority of an Imperial Charter. The Imperial Government has handed over to the Canadian Administration the complete control over the internal affairs of the Dominion, and cannot be induced by any pressure from within or without to interfere with their constitutional rights, now resting on so broad and liberal a basis. This adherence to a fixed policy with respect to Canada has been very clearly illustrated in the case of the somewhat complicated and perplexing constitutional difficulty which has ended in the dismissal of Mr. Letellier de St. Just from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec.

"It will not have escaped your observation," writes the Colonial Secretary to the Marquis of Lorne, "that the constitutional question to which it relates is one affecting the internal affairs of the Dominion, and belongs to a class of subjects with which the Government and Parliament of Canada are fully competent to deal. I notice with satisfaction that owing to the patience and ability with which the new Constitution has been made by the Canadian people to fulfil the objects with which it was framed, it has very rarely been found necessary to resort to the Imperial authority for assistance in any of those complications which might have been expected to arise during the first years of the Dominion; and I need not point out to you that *such references should only be made in circumstances of a very exceptional nature.*"

II. In no respect has the liberal policy of the Parent State towards its Colonial Dependencies effected so marked and so important a change, as in the matter of trade and commerce. Canada was, for very many years in her early career, weighed down by a system which controlled her commercial freedom, and effectually prevented



her attaining that commercial expansion to which her natural resources entitled her. In the old days of French dominion, she was little better than a military post, whose feeble garrison was condemned to live in a state of perpetual warfare and insecurity, frequently suffering from famine, without any trade, except what was monopolised by privileged companies. Under the English régime, and the influx of a new class of settlers, whose instincts were all in the direction of commercial enterprise, it was inevitable that commerce should make a certain progress, which would have been less possible under the French system of Colonial government; but still that progress was more or less trammelled, not only by the political troubles that arose from the operation of an erroneous political system, but chiefly from the effect of the restrictive commercial policy of the Empire. This policy has been well summarised by Mr. Merivale, in the following five paragraphs:—

1. Restrictions on the exportation of produce from the Colony elsewhere than to the mother-country.
2. Restrictions on the importation of goods into the Colony from foreign countries.
3. Restrictions on the importation of Colonial produce into the mother-country from foreign countries or Colonies.
4. Restrictions on the carriage of goods to and from the Colonies in other shipping than that of the mother-country.
5. Restrictions on the manufacture of their own raw produce by the colonists.

It took many years for English statesmen and publicists to see the short-sightedness of this policy. Writers of all parties, with a few exceptions, concurred in lauding a policy which was considered to be the very corner-stone of the Colonial system in the British Empire. These restrictions disappeared one after the other, according as the policy of the parent state towards the Colonies became more liberal. But it was not till the principles of Free Trade began to make some headway in the mother-country, and English statesmen saw the necessity of leaving to Canadians the free control of their own affairs, that the Navigation Laws were repealed in their entirety, and Canada left free to develop her commerce in the mode best calculated to stimulate her resources.

The right of Canada to regulate her fiscal policy in her own interests has always been practically admitted by the British Government, and when on one occasion it was called in question, it was distinctly and emphatically vindicated by Sir Alexander Galt, then Minister of Finance. Whilst admitting that due regard should

be always had to the interests of the mother-country, he pointed out what is an obvious truth :—

“ Self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is, therefore, the duty of the present Government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry. Her Majesty cannot be advised to disallow such acts, unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the Colony, irrespective of the views of its inhabitants. The Imperial Government are not responsible for the debts and engagements of Canada, they do not maintain its Judicial, Educational, or Civil Service, they contribute nothing to the internal government of the country, and the Provincial Legislature, acting through a Ministry directly responsible to it, has to make provision for all these wants. They must necessarily claim and exercise the widest latitude as to the nature and extent of the burdens to be placed on the industry of the people.”\*

The broad principle enunciated in the foregoing State paper has never since been questioned, but has been practically acquiesced in by the British Government. We see that very clearly in the case of the new tariff of 1879, which has been avowedly framed not merely to raise a revenue to meet the absolute necessities of Canada, but also to develop native manufactures and other interests, which, it is claimed, cannot be fostered except through such fiscal legislation. This tariff has been notoriously viewed with disfavour in Great Britain, on the ground that it bears heavily against Imperial interests as represented by England's merchants and manufacturers—a contention denied by its advocates in and out of Parliament; but whatever may be the effect of this policy—and that is a question which has nothing to do with the present argument—no Minister of the Crown nor publicist in England has ventured to argue that Canada has not an undoubted right, as a free dependency, to act as she thinks best in this matter.

The freedom which Canada enjoys in the regulation of her home and foreign commerce is very clearly illustrated by her State papers, which give a history of the various negotiations which have led to the extension of her commercial relations with other countries. In all treaties that may immediately affect Canadian interests, the right of Canada to have a voice in their adoption or rejection has

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\* Report to Government, 25th October, 1859.

been distinctly recognised for a quarter of a century. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 between the United States and the British North-American Provinces was a great concession made to Colonial commerce by the Government of Great Britain in response to the demands of the Colonies. In this case the provincial legislatures were allowed to accept or reject the Treaty as each might deem expedient. The same policy was still more emphatically illustrated in the case of the more important Treaty of Washington, when one of the High Commissioners was the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of Canada. In the subsequent arrangement of the Fishery Award, in conformity with the provisions of the foregoing Treaty, one of the arbitrators was Sir Alexander Galt. The results in these cases have been eminently favourable to Canada, in comparison with former negotiations with the United States, which only tended to the detriment of the Colonies, as the history of the boundary line between Canada and the United States abundantly attests.

Equal consideration has been given to the wishes of the Canadian people, when on other occasions they have been attempting to enlarge their trade relations, even though the result might to some extent conflict with the commercial policy of the mother-country. In a despatch of the 12th July, 1855, the Imperial policy was laid down in the following words: "But this policy of freedom for the producer and trader, as well as the consumer, would be seriously affected, if Colonial legislatures were to establish differential duties in favour of their own natural productions or manufactures, whether against the British or the foreign producer. And a similar violation of the principles of Free Trade would result, if favour were shown, in the legislation of a Colony, to one Colony over another, by the reduction or total abolition of duties in favour of particular Colonies."

But the principle laid down in this and subsequent despatches, since 1850, has been practically departed from as respects the dependencies of the Crown in North America. In 1850 an Act was passed empowering the Governor in Council to permit the free entry into Canada of the products of any of the North American provinces, and though Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, called attention to its provisions, the Act was not disallowed; and subsequent enactments of a similar kind have from time to time received the sanction of Parliament, and been left to their operation by Her Majesty's Government. In 1860, when it was proposed to have Free Trade between the Provinces, the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade recommended that

it should be made a condition of the assent of Her Majesty's Government to the proposed measure, that any such exemption from import duty should be equally extended to all similar produce and manufacture of other countries. To this proposal the Canadian Government took exception, and after some correspondence on the subject Her Majesty's Government, in a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, under date of 5th February, 1861, intimated that they "had no wish to offer any obstacles to any endeavours which might be made by the respective Provincial Governments to bring about free commercial intercourse between the North American Provinces." The policy enunciated in that despatch was carried out in 1867 which created a commercial as well as political union between the Provinces of British North America. Again, in 1868, by a despatch to the Governor-General dated the 24th July, it is declared that "no objection is made to the power taken to admit the produce of any of the neighbouring North American Provinces duty free;" and a Bill passed by the Legislature of Prince Edward Island (not then a member of the Canadian Confederation), to admit Canadian flour into that island duty free which had passed through the United States, whilst flour the growth of the United States was liable to duty, was, after discussion, assented to.

But it may here be remarked that it has not been possible to extend the same principle of Reciprocity to other Colonies outside of British North America. In 1865, Commissioners were sent out to the West Indies with the object of extending the commercial relations between Canada and those southern countries. The delegates, whose mission had the approval of the British Government, were distinctly informed in their letter of instructions that "the Government of Canada would be prepared to recommend to Parliament the reduction or even abolition of any Customs duties now levied on the productions of those countries, if corresponding favour were shown to the staples of British North America in their markets." The mission was abortive, on account of the unwillingness of the British Government to move in the matter. As those countries do not enjoy responsible government, or are the Colonies of foreign powers, it was impossible for Canada to come to any arrangement with their local governments except through the medium of Great Britain. At the present time a movement is being made in a similar direction, and negotiations have been opened up with Spain with the approval of the British authorities; and it is earnestly to be hoped that the result will be favourable. It is only a logical conclusion of the past and present policy of the

Parent State towards her Canadian dependency that its interests should be invariably consulted, not only in relation to trade with other Colonies, but in relation to all commercial treaties made by England with foreign countries.

III. With this brief and necessarily imperfect review of the national progress of Canada under the liberal policy pursued towards her by the Imperial Government since 1840, we may now most conveniently proceed to consider some of the material results that are the natural sequence of the political and commercial liberty that she now enjoys. Under the old Colonial system, so repressive of national ambition and commercial enterprise, Canada made but little progress in population and wealth. When the new constitution came into operation in 1792, the total population of British North America did not exceed 175,000 souls, who were mostly French Canadians living on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers. The total population of what is now the premier province of Ontario was then only some 20,000, and the increase was very slow during the next half-century. In the years of political discontent and uncertainty previous to 1840 the population and trade of the country languished, and in all British North America there were only a million and a quarter of inhabitants, of whom at least a third lived in Lower Canada. With the constitution of 1841 commenced a new era of enterprise and progress. No community in the world ever exceeded the progress made in all the elements of wealth and prosperity by the province of Upper Canada during the decade from 1841 to 1851. The population of the provinces now comprising the Dominion rose to nearly two millions and a half during that period, of whom Ontario could claim a million, or an excess of a hundred thousand souls over the population of the province of Quebec. This population found profitable employment in the fertile lands of the West, and thriving towns and villages soon dotted the broad expanse of the province, where so many Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen have raised themselves from a condition of poverty and misery to one of affluence and wealth. By 1871 the population of all Canada had risen to three millions and a half, and may be estimated at over four millions at the present time, the immigration having for years been comparatively insignificant, owing to the depressed condition of trade and manufactures throughout the Dominion.

In 1851 there were only some 8,000,000 acres of land under cultivation, whereas the census of 1871 showed that the total acreage occupied in Canada was some 36,000,000, of which the greater portion was improved. By 1851 the farmers raised some 16,000,000

bushels of wheat, and the production may now be estimated at 25,000,000 bushels. In 1851 wheat was the principal crop, but since then the farmers began to turn their attention to other products; and the result is, the oat crop has risen from 25,000,000 bushels in 1851 to 50,000,000 in 1879; potatoes, from 15,000,000 bushels to 50,000,000; barley, from 1,500,000 bushels to 12,000,000. The yield of wheat per acre in Ontario is in excess of nearly all the States of the American Union, and it is said that in the north-west forty bushels is the usual yield from the rich alluvial lands, whose power of production is perfectly unlimited.

The revenue, which did not exceed a million of dollars in 1840, rose to 18,000,000 dols. in 1864, and is now some 22,000,000 dols., whilst each of the provinces has revenues of its own for local purposes, and the municipalities provide largely for education and certain classes of public works. The debt of the country has largely increased, but this debt, instead of representing war and famine, illustrates the energy and enterprise of the people, in providing canals, railways, and other public works, absolutely necessary to the development of the country, and assuming in many cases a national importance.

In 1851 the total value of the trade of Canada was not in excess of 60,000,000 dols., but with the building of canals and railways, and the stimulus that was given by the steady influx of population and capital, the trade in the course of the next twenty years assumed magnificent proportions. In 1868-9 the total trade reached over 180,000,000 dols., and during the six years following the union 2,000,000 dols. was the total annual value of the imports and exports; but from 1874 Canadian commerce began to recede before the wave of commercial depression which steadily gained ground until the total value of the trade during the past year did not exceed 175,000,000 dols. One feature of this trade may here be noticed, and that is the decrease in the imports from Great Britain. In 1878 and 1874 their value was nearly 70,000,000 dols. in the aggregate, whilst they have declined steadily ever since, until in 1878 they did not reach 40,000,000 dols., whilst, on the other hand, the value of imports from the United States has varied but little during the same period. The chief causes of the falling off in British imports must be sought in the financial depression of the country, and in the fact that American manufactured goods have for years been thrown into the Canadian market irrespective of cost, and with the sole idea of underselling British manufacturers and destroying Canadian industries. Looking at the nature of the exports we find that the annual value of the produce of the

fisheries was nearly 7,000,000 dols. ; of the forest, 20,000,000 dols., and of agriculture, 81,000,000 dols.

Perhaps no statistics more clearly illustrate the material progress of Canada than those which are devoted to her shipping and her railways. It is the pride and boast of Canada that her people have that love for the sea which is the natural heritage of the men of the North. The little province of Nova Scotia owns more shipping in proportion to her population of some 400,000 souls than any other country in the world ; and her sails are to be seen in every port of the world. In 1806 all British North America only owned a tonnage of 71,948 ; in 1879, the total tonnage reached some 1,850,000 tons register, representing 7,469 vessels, valued at 40,000,000 dols., or £8,000,000 sterling, and entitling Canada to rank with Norway, after England and the United States, as a mercantile people. The tonnage engaged, inwards and outwards, between Canada and foreign ports, reached 12,000,000, and adding the vessels employed in the coasting trade, we have a total of 28,000,000 tons necessary for carrying on the present trade of Canada.

The era of railway construction in Canada only dates from 1850. In 1847 there were only some forty miles altogether in operation, whilst in 1867, the number had increased to 2,258 miles. At the present time there are some 7,000 miles of rails laid, and over 1,000 in course of construction. The Intercolonial and Grand Trunk Railways furnish an uninterrupted line of communication from Sarnia to Halifax, with many feeders joining them in all directions. That great national enterprise, the Canadian Pacific Railway, has several hundred miles in running order ; and before half a decade has passed away the locomotive will not be far from the base of the Rocky Mountains. As it passes over the vast plains of the North-west, watered by the Red, Saskatchewan, and Peace Rivers, a stream of population must necessarily obey the law which forces it to follow railway progress in a new country. Already a large city is growing up on the banks of the Red River, and immigrants can reach it by uninterrupted railway communication from Halifax or Quebec. The posts of the Hudson's Bay Company of Adventurers are no longer the sole representatives of civilisation in what was once truly called the "Great Lone Land," but settlements of enterprising pioneers are already battling with the wilderness far in advance of the railway. We can indeed say with the poet Whittier :—

"I hear the tread of pioneers  
Of nations yet to be ;  
The first low wash of human waves,  
Where soon shall roll a sea."

IV. It has been sometimes said that the configuration of Canada has its disadvantages from its lack of breadth and compactness, as compared with the United States, with its wider expanse of territory, and its greater and more available extent of sea-coast on two oceans. But Canada possesses in the St. Lawrence a great natural artery of commerce to which her American neighbour cannot offer a rival; and it is inevitable that sooner or later the bulk of Western produce must find its way to Europe through this river, with its splendid system of canals, which so admirably illustrate the enterprise of Canada. It must also be borne in mind that the Dominion has ports on her eastern sea-board open at all seasons, and nearer to Europe than are any of the American harbours; and the time is not far distant when the Atlantic entrepôt of trade will be the port of Louisbourg, which once played so important a part in the conflict between England and France for empire on this continent. The fisheries of the maritime provinces are the object of the envy of the United States, whilst the mineral resources of coal and iron on the Atlantic and Pacific coast offer unrivalled means of wealth and enterprise in the future. In the north-west there is a grain-producing region in course of development, far greater in value and extent than any now possessed by the United States. All these are the elements of a prosperous nation, whose population in a few decades should be continuous from Ontario to Vancouver. The future destiny of such a country is a question which may well attract the attention of the publicist and economist. It may be said that mere speculation on such a subject cannot enable us to come to any profitable conclusion; and yet it requires no gift of political prophecy to see that the time must, sooner or later, come when the relations between the parent State and her Canadian dependency must be placed on some more substantial basis. Three destinies are obviously open to Canada—annexation, independence, or consolidation into the Empire. Absorption by the United States is a question which need hardly be discussed nowadays. In the old times it had its advocates, especially before the union of 1840, when Canadians looked across the border and saw a prosperous progressive people enjoying free institutions, and their natural corollaries of a widely-diffused education, and an ever-advancing commerce, whilst Canada was labouring under the disadvantages of a system which repressed all the free instincts of a people desirous of self-government, and the opportunity for expansion which it would give to their energies. In later times the very free intercourse which the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 created between the two peoples, especially between New England and the



maritime provinces, was doubtless in a measure preparing the way, very insidiously, but not the less surely, to more intimate relations in the future; and a similar result, there is every reason to believe, would arise from some such Zollverein as has had its advocates of recent years. But in these times there is not even a fragment of an annexation party in this country. The progress that has been made since 1867-8 in consolidating and developing the Canadian Dominion has naturally stimulated the pride of Canadians in their country, and though they are prepared to do full justice to the greatness and the enterprise of the American Republic to their south, they do not necessarily link their political fortunes together in the future, but prefer to believe that in the work of civilising America they have each their allotted work to perform in friendly rivalry; that in the vast regions which they own on the Continent there is ample scope for the energy of two peoples, sprung from the same great stock and animated by the same love for free institutions.

As respects the second destiny, independence, it is more probable than the first; but so far it has not assumed, and is not likely to assume for a long while to come, any practical shape, though the idea may obtain some currency among the ambitious youth of the country, that the time must come when Canada will take a place in the community of nations. It is true her wealth and resources are now far greater than are those of several nations in the old and new world, which have their ambassadors and consuls, and a certain influence and weight in the affairs of the world. It is true that a mere Colonial existence, though it has its comforts and freedom from responsibilities, has also its tendency to cramp intellect, and stamp colonists as somehow inferior to those who control directly the affairs of an Empire. But whatever may be in the future, Canadians of the present day are too wise to allow their ambition to run away with their common sense, and to precipitate them into the endless expense and complications which would naturally follow were they to be dazzled by the glamour of Canadian nationality.

The idea of a consolidation of the Empire is undoubtedly grand in its conception, but very difficult in its realisation. This idea by no means originated in the present generation of political thinkers. Pownall, Shirley, and Otis, famous men of old Colonial times, saw in such a scheme one of the great means of strengthening the Empire. One of the most eloquent of Canadian statesmen, the late Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, some thirty years ago, delivered a speech on the "Organization of the Empire," which was a very forcible illustration of the feelings of the Canadians when they

looked around at the isolated Colonies, whose interests were becoming more jarring and distinct as time rolled on :—

“ What we require is union with the Empire ; an investiture with the rights and dignity of British citizenship. . . . The millions who inhabit the British Isles must make some provision for the peoples who live beyond the seas. They may rule the barbarous tribes, who do not speak their language or share their civilization, by the sword ; but they can only rule or retain such provinces as are to be found in North America, by drawing their sympathies around a common centre, by giving them an interest in the army, the navy, the diplomacy, the administration, the legislation of the Empire.”

Edmund Burke once said, when discussing the question,— “ *Opposuit Natura*, I cannot remove the eternal barriers of the creation,” though he did not absolutely assert the impracticability of Colonial representation in an Imperial Parliament. But it cannot be said in this latter half of the nineteenth century that nature interposes barriers to the consummation of the idea. Steam and electricity have annihilated time and distance, whilst the enterprise of the press and the diffusion of political intelligence among all classes enable colonists in Canada and Australia, as well as Englishmen or Scotchmen or Irishmen in the British Isles, to understand and discuss intelligently all the great issues that interest England and her Colonial Empire. No one can question the ability of Canadians or Australians, educated as they have been in parliamentary government, to take an intelligent and effective part in the councils of the Empire. The great difficulty that suggests itself is to see how they can be best brought into those councils.

The present relations between the parent state and its dependencies are anomalous and inconsistent in many ways. The union between them is to a great extent nominal in its nature, and based on a mere sentiment. Canada owns allegiance to the sovereign of England, accepts her accredited representative with every demonstration of respectful loyalty, and acknowledges the Imperial obligations resting on her as a Dependency by sustaining a militia at her own expense, and offering some regiments in a time of actual or prospective war. In all other respects, however, Canada virtually occupies the position of an independent state ; for she can frame her tariffs, and even fix the expenses of her militia and defence solely with a regard to Canadian interests. On the other hand, England may to-morrow, in pursuance of some policy of her own, draw the whole Empire into war, and though colonists must be affected more or less by the results, they have no opportunity of

giving their approval or disapproval to the policy. Their trade may suffer, their towns and cities may be destroyed, in the progress of a conflict which, in its origin and object, has no interest for them so far as their country is concerned; and though in the future, as in the past, they will bear their full share of the responsibilities resting on them as the people of a dependency, yet the result must assuredly tend to show that their condition is one of decided inferiority, compared with that of the people of Great Britain, who can alone control the destiny of the Empire in matters of such supreme moment. It may be said that England has hitherto borne the burthen of the expense and labour necessary to enable the Colonies to attain their present position, and that it is their turn now to take their share of the heat and toil of the day, and relieve the parent state somewhat in the present; but it will not surely be urged that because Canada has grown to maturity, she must still necessarily remain a mere spectator in the affairs of the family of which she forms a part, and is at the same time to keep up the family feuds without having the opportunity of putting in a word now and then, on the one side or the other.

In several respects, certainly, the interests of Canada and the Empire ought to be identical. It is assuredly anomalous that one section of the Empire should have a fiscal policy entirely distinct from that of the other; that the defensive system of Canada should be considered without any reference to the defence of Scotland, or any other portion of the Empire. Or, consider the state of things with respect to the important question of emigration. The necessities of the masses have driven millions of people from the British Islands during the last sixty or seventy years to seek new homes in America; and only a small proportion has actually settled in Canada. A writer in a recent issue of the *Westminster Review* has very clearly and emphatically pointed out the dangers that must accrue to England from the policy of indifference which allows this emigration to flow into foreign countries. He calculates that England has for over sixty years made the United States a present of a gift equal to nearly 100,000,000 dols. a year, and proceeds to show that only under a system of Imperial Federation can this stream of population be diverted into a channel which will bring wealth and power to the parent state, instead of carrying off the elements of national prosperity to enrich foreign powers, or build up new nations which will be her rivals in the future.

At the present time the public men of Canada are opening up to civilization a vast wilderness in the North West, capable of giving food to many millions, and are using their best efforts to connect

that vast region with the railway system of Canada and the United States. A project like this cannot be considered as purely Colonial in its conception and effect. On the contrary, the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway must have a remarkable influence on the future of the Empire on this continent; for it will carry along with it the elements of wealth and greatness, open up a road to Asiatic seas through British territory, and give continuity and stability to a new nationality, stretching from ocean to ocean, whose ultimate destiny can best be controlled by an Imperial policy in the present, which will unmistakably prove that the interest of the parent state and its dependency are closely identical. Had the Canadians representation in the Imperial councils, they would obviously be in a better position than they are now to press their legitimate claims to some material aid towards the completion of a work which is so essential to the maintenance of British dominion on the northern half of the continent.

The isolation of the Colonies from the Empire is the inevitable sequence of the present Colonial system. Consolidation may be the rule as respects the Colonies *per se*, but disintegration is certainly the effect on the Empire as a whole. These premises being granted—and it is impossible to see how they can be denied—the question will naturally arise as to the means for carrying out a political scheme which has so many national reasons in its favour. How is it possible to bring together into an Imperial Federation so many diverse interests as are represented by the Colonial Dependencies of Great Britain? Might it not be possible to mature a plan which would enable those Dependencies now possessing free parliamentary institutions to be represented in the general councils of the Empire, or to apply the Federal principle to the Empire? The Imperial Parliament could deal with all great questions of peace and war, of commerce and finance, and such other matters as might affect the Empire as a whole, while the internal affairs of the British Islands and of each section of the Empire could be arranged in local legislature. Then, the British Empire would exist in fact as well as in name. Already, the idea of a change in the relations between the different parts of the Empire is rapidly gaining ground in England as well as in Canada, and there is every reason to believe that before long, a practical movement will be made to promote so desirable a project. One of the most prominent statesmen of Canada, the Hon. Edward Blake, has very emphatically expressed his opinion that “an effort should be made to re-organise the Empire on a Federal basis.” The present Premier of Canada, the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, only a few weeks ago,

seemed to commit himself to the same grand idea when he said :—

“I stand here as the exponent of the great principles by which Canada shall become not merely a dependency of England, but an auxiliary to that great country—principles under the operation of which England will turn round to us, and ask for our young men, our soldiery, to fight the battles of Great Britain.”

No one can be so bold, then, as to say that the question may not, even in our own day, before the dawn of a new century, enter into the domain of practical politics. Events occur with extraordinary rapidity now-a-days, and measures which are mere subjects of theoretical discussion to-day may become the facts of to-morrow. The history of the constitutional changes that have taken place in Canada within three quarters of a century, prove that the force of events frequently carries statesmen in a direction which they did not contemplate at the outset. British statesmen were actually forced into the concession of responsible Government by a combination of circumstances which proved that representative institutions were practically effete without such a concession. The union of the provinces at times afforded a fruitful theme of discussion in the press, and even in Parliament, but it never assumed a practical shape until the political difficulties of Canada forced her public men into the consideration of a national idea. So it may be with this question of the Federation of Great Britain and her Dependencies. The necessities of the Empire may at last make this momentous question one of the practical issues of the day. In the meantime, the Colonial Dependencies must continue their work of national development in that courageous and enterprising spirit which their people inherit from the parent races, and in the hope that when the time comes for solving their true destiny among the nations, their place will be found not one of isolation from the parent state, but one of more intimate connection, which will elevate them above the mere subordinate part they now play, and give them their true rank in that noble theatre of action which the Empire should offer to all its sons, whether they live in the “old home” or in the Colonial communities which encircle the globe.

#### DISCUSSION.

His Grace the CHAIRMAN : Mr. Joseph Doutre, Queen's Counsel, of Canada, has sent in his name to address us ; but before he does so I should like to call attention to one point which is mentioned by Mr. Bourinot in his Paper, on which there is no one more capable than Mr. Doutre to give us advice, and that is in reference to the Letel-

lier case. Mr. Bourinot uses it in reference to the argument that Downing-street no longer interferes with the internal Government of Canada. My point is not in reference to that; I think the Governor-General was quite right in not asking for interference, and that the Secretary of State was perfectly right in not offering any interference at all or dictation. But it seems to me that the Governor-General did not act quite correctly in that question, and I think that the dispatch of the Secretary of State was not in accordance, at any rate in my view, with the Dominion Act. I believe the clause which governs that case enacted that the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces were to be appointed by the Governor-General by the advice of his Ministers, that they were to be removed by the Governor-General without his Ministers giving him any advice on the subject. It seems to me that the object of making that difference was, that although the appointment of the Governor-General might be a political appointment when it is made on the advice of the Dominion Ministry, the removal of a Lieutenant-Governor of a Province should not be a political act, but should be entirely independent of Dominion local politics. Therefore I thought it was a pity that the Governor-General should have taken the advice of the Dominion Ministry for the removal of Mr. Letellier. I think that the power of removal being limited to the Governor-General without the advice of the Constitutional Ministry was intended that he should not be governed by political questions on that point or by local political questions of the Dominion, but that it should be a purely judicial function, that the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces should only be removed for misgovernment or incapacity, but that all political questions should be kept clear of the question of the tenure of office by the Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces. I hope Mr. Doutre will forgive me for putting that question to him and asking him to advise us. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOSEPH DOUTRE, Q.C. (of Canada): My lord duke, ladies, and gentlemen—I hope in whatever explanations I give to this meeting that an account will be taken of the difficulty under which I labour in expressing myself in a language which has taken me a great deal of pains to learn, but very ineffectually, as you will see. (Hear, hear.) His Grace the Duke of Manchester has stated that my name had been sent in as a probable speaker; but I must say that there has been a very gentle pressure exercised over me to send in my name, and when I did so I was in hopes that I should come after other speakers, and by that means that whatever I should have to say before the meeting would be made more easy for me. I

therefore find it very hard now to enter into explanations upon the Paper which has been read to you. While listening to the reading of the Paper I could note only a few portions of it, and what struck me first was the reference to the treatment which the colonists have sometimes experienced at the hands of officials in England, a difference being made between the past and the present. It will be remembered in the past that the way in which Franklin was received when he came into this country bore in a great measure on the ill-feeling which was created in his own country when he returned. The learned essayist of this Paper says, *Nous avons changé tout cela*. Well, that idea must be taken *cum grano salis*. I have been engaged on this side of the Atlantic as a barrister before the Privy Council, and when I first came here I went to the office of the Registrar of the Privy Council to obtain some information about the time when a certain case would be likely to come up before that Court. I was told by the learned Registrar of that Court, which is essentially a Colonial Court, that he did not understand what Colonial lawyers had to do with that Court; at all events, he would communicate with no one except through a London solicitor, and he would not listen to me. I think there is still something to be changed in these matters. (Hear, hear.) In my profession I have also been engaged in a case which has engrossed a great deal of attention on both sides of the Atlantic—that was the settlement of the Fishery question between the United States and England. I was the leading counsel before the Fishery tribunal at Halifax. When a case is won or lost, the suitors have no one to thank or to revenge themselves upon except on their own lawyers, and they say the judges have done their duty, and there is no thanks given to them, whatever trouble they may have taken. If you remember, we got before that Commission an award of 5½ millions of dollars payable by the Americans. After these proceedings were over, the representative of your Government before that Commission—not a very large man either in body or mind—wrote a letter to Lord Derby assuming to distribute praise amongst those who had contributed in obtaining that award. You will find that letter, which has absolutely nothing to do with the proceedings, carefully printed in the Blue-book. (Laughter.) You will read there the speeches of lawyers who were engaged on that Commission, and you will find their names carefully omitted from all praise, while a copyist or messenger is very highly lauded for what he had done. When I read this I felt very thankful for the omission; but the spirit is there. This is a state of things which I think also could be changed with advantage. Coming now to the question which has

been put to me by the noble chairman, I wish to say that I fully concur in his opinion, that the matter of the dismissal of a Lieutenant-Governor, being a kind of judicial operation, the Governor-General, as the Act reads, should consult none but himself. (Hear, hear.) But, however, as this question was rather perplexing for the Marquis of Lorne on entering into his office, he wanted to have the opinion of the Home authorities, and he asked for advice. It was not a reference properly speaking, but he was told to follow the advice of his Ministers in Canada, and I doubt much if this was right. I think that the opinion expressed by the chairman of this meeting is the correct one, that he should have taken none but his own inspiration. Now, in the exercise of his discretion, should he have dismissed or not the Lieutenant-Governor? I do not think it would help anyone if I should express an opinion on the matter. Naturally we all belong to one party or another in my country, and whatever I would say would only reflect the view of one political party or the other. (Hear, hear.) I hope this incident will be an isolated one in the history of the Colonies, and that it will be no longer discussed as to what the Governor-General should do in such an emergency. I wish now to say a word about the three courses which are discussed in this paper as involving the destinies of Canada, which I think is the most important and most interesting that we have to consider this evening. Annexation, as he says, has not now an outspoken partisan in Canada; independence is hardly spoken of; and as to the last cause, the consolidation of the British Empire, Mr. Bourinot speaks of it in such misty language that it is very hard to understand exactly how we could arrive at that system. I must say that the two previous points are the two that are most intelligible; I do not say they are the most desirable, but we understand what they mean better. To understand what annexation means is simple; to understand independence is a little more complicated and extremely delicate. The last course suggested would perhaps be the most pleasant to the Colonies themselves if, after a full discussion and study of the question, it were found practicable. But here is the question, Is it practicable? I think it is here in England that you would have the greatest difficulty in convincing the mind of the public that it is practicable. First of all, the system is surrounded on all sides by the realisation of a distasteful Home rule, it being composed of a little Federal Government above all parts of the Empire, every section of it being administered in its own local affairs by local Parliaments. The great questions of peace and war and commercial matters would be left to the jurisdiction of that Federal



Government. Well, the most important of these functions, peace and war, would willingly be left to the decision of the power from which all such issues radiate. But in regard to commercial questions we are already at loggerheads. You all complain in England, and everywhere I have been in England and Scotland I have heard a great reproach made to Canada for having increased her Customs' duties, and I doubt much whether any system such as the one proposed could settle that question. I will show you in what a corner Canada finds herself. Our government is administered through a revenue collected from Customs mostly. We have certain Excise duties, but we have no Income-tax, as you have. (Hear, hear.) We have no property taxation which contributes to the administration of government. All the money required to administer our government is mostly derived from Customs' duties. Free Trade is, then, impossible with us, unless gentlemen in England wish to defray all the expenses of our government. (Laughter.) If you wish Free Trade from us, just undertake to administer our affairs and pay the expenses. We must find the money somewhere, and, so far, we have discovered no other source from which to derive a revenue for the administration of our government. Then, gentlemen, you must consider these questions as a lawyer considers an intricate case or a doctor a complicated disease, without passion, and you must allow colonists to approach them without suspecting in them any feeling of disloyalty in any shape. It is true, as this Paper says, that there is not in the mind of anyone in Canada a feeling other than one of loyalty and affection for Great Britain. As an evidence I may say that the very party from whom we had an increase of duty, in order to foster manufactures at home, are those who constitute the Tory party of Canada, which carried its love to the extreme of shedding their blood to remain under the British rule during the revolution of 1837. You cannot suspect or doubt the loyalty of the Canadian people when they put a duty on their goods, as the measure comes from those who have always assumed to be your best friends. (Hear, hear.) Your friends, those who have been devoted to this country from the first settlement of Canada, say you must approach all this in good spirit. Now, see in what position our home industry is placed. If by putting 25 per cent. on our goods we are successful in creating manufactures, having no market out of our country, we dry the source of our revenue by ceasing to import. If we supply ourselves, if we manufacture everything we require in the internal economy of our country, we will not require importation, and in that case we shall have no money to carry on our government.

We are placed in this difficulty—that, for want of a market for our manufactured goods, our success in developing our industries must end in a plethora at home. We may do whatever we like to foster manufactures; we are surrounded on all sides by an insuperable barrier; we have all along our coast the Chinese Customs' walls of the United States. We have put 25 per cent. on most articles, because without it the Americans may overflow us with their goods, and this is expected to act as a damper. But even with this they may pay 25 per cent. to crowd us at a given moment with a great class of manufactured goods, but we cannot pass over to them without having to pay from 50 to 125 per cent. When in a country like this, where such questions are understood far better than in our country, these aspects are well considered, you may turn the eyes on all sides, and you will find that anything contained in that essay favouring the consolidation of the Empire will not save us from these difficulties. The United States may look upon Canada as at an apple-tree, ready to catch the fruit as it matures and falls into their hands. They may starve us into annexation; they may starve us whether we are British Colonies or whether we are independent or part of a Confederated Empire. We cannot deliver up our country from that barrier along our shores. It is impossible. There is no country in the world which requires manufactures as much as we do. There are six months in the year when our population have nothing to do, and already nearly a million of our population have emigrated to the States. They began to go there in the winter, coming back to work on lands during the summer. Then they got gradually accustomed to the ins-and-outs, and after spending two or three winters in that way, they remained altogether; and thus we have almost a million of our countrymen living now in the United States, who visit us backwards and forwards, but live there. This is a state of things which cannot be remedied, and from which there is no escape. It would at least require very deep philosophers and political wizards to get us out of that difficulty. These are some of the things hardly touched on in the Paper. I mention them so that the glowing picture made here and there may be toned down. This paper is very well written, and written in the best of spirits, but practically I am afraid the plan of which he speaks as a possible transformation is a subject which we should have to deal with sooner than anyone may expect. As he well says, it would not be from a desire to separate from the mother-country that Canada may have to consider her future destiny before long; it would be from commands of prime necessity, and Englishmen understand that as well if not better than other people.

Bread first, and the family before the country, and when it comes to the threshold of everyone's sense that there is no means of living in a country, then some other mode of existence must be resorted to. If you find one that binds us for ever with Great Britain, while securing these primordial interests indispensable to the life of a people as well as to that of an individual, you would confer on a devoted and filial nation an everlasting cause of gratitude. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE : I am sure that we must all be much gratified with the glowing picture which the writer of the paper has given us of the prosperity of the country to which he belongs ; and we must with equal satisfaction receive the spirit in which he writes of the intercourse which he desires to maintain between the mother-country and the Colony, and the desire which he evinces for the increased continuance of the union, so that the mother and daughter may go on together in one uniform course of prosperity. But I agree with the last speaker, that there are many difficulties in the way. I do not see of itself that it is impossible that Canadian representatives should be admitted to our Legislature. That which was impossible in the time of Burke has become, by means of extended intercourse, quite within the bounds of possibility at the present moment. But, still, it is not simply the fact of close communication which puts the difficulty out of the way ; it is, I think, that the colonists are not disposed to concede exactly to us that which they wish to receive from us. For instance, the writer evidently wishes that representatives from Canada should sit side by side with those from Yorkshire or Liverpool in the Legislature of our country, otherwise they would not be able to exercise the influence which he desires on questions of national importance ; but he wishes at the same time to retain the right of the local Legislatures to manage their own taxation. Now, it would be utterly impossible for Canadian representatives to be admitted to legislate at home without our having an equal voice in the matter of taxation in their own country ; and that any assembly of Englishmen and Canadians being joined together in deciding upon the taxes which Englishmen should pay should be excluded altogether from joint action with regard to the taxes which Canadians should pay. Still, this question may be overcome, and I think the first step towards it is not so much the political scheme to be laid down for basis on which union should exist, or how the consolidation should be carried out, but that we want more inculcation of the spirit of fraternity, and of desire on the part of the colonists for the honour and comfort and the prosperity of the mother-country as well as their own. I

fully admit that the circumstances of the Colonies and the mother-country have been greatly changing. In former times we alternately concerned ourselves with them as naughty children who required to be whipped, and good children who required sweets ; but such a state of things can no longer exist. The time has now come in which the most improved Colonies, having arrived at maturity, and others fast approaching towards it, must be treated as partners. It comes to be a question like that of a manufacturing firm in this country, the head of which, while his sons are young, employs them as clerks or agents in carrying on the business ; and, when they arrive at ages to take upon themselves the responsibilities of life, they naturally assume that they should have a partnership in the business, having their own share of the profits and exercising a co-equal right with the parent in the concern. That is the position, I take it, of our Colonies at present, and we must recognise and act upon it. But how does that fall in with the views of the writer on some points which he has expressed ? To carry on the analogy let us suppose this—that the parent wishes to have his sons in the partnership ; and, in addition to the partnership concern, the parent carries on some private business of his own. His sons reside in the country, take to the profession of agriculture, and raise a certain surplus of beef and wheat, which they wish to dispose of ; or grow timber, which they wish to sell. They say to the father, “ Now, you want our beef and bread. You, for your own purposes, refuse to impose any difficulty in obtaining this produce, or by levying any tax upon it. But we do not want the boots and shoes which you are manufacturing or the goods which you are selling in exchange ; we want to forward our own industries, wherefore we would impose a difficulty in obtaining your manufactures, in the shape of a duty which would prevent the free exchange of goods, and, in point of fact, would force the bargain to be entirely on one side and not on the other.” Then he goes on still further. Let us suppose the question arises of making a road, either a common road or a railroad, to connect the estate of the son with the town in which the parent resides ; what does the son say ? “ We have joint interest and common responsibilities, and ask from you, as the writer here does, to tax yourself and your fellow-townsmen in order to lay down this road to improve the communication between us ; but when this road is made we insist upon it being used for free transit from our fields to your town, but with the proviso that we will impose a toll on all your manufactures which you send for our benefit.” That, I think, is a condition which no State can expect to be realised, and so long as the colonists remain keeping the door barred

against the access of our goods, they never can expect to be admitted to the full benefit, privileges, and status of the British Empire in the manner in which it is spoken of here. (Hear, hear.) What we want here is, that there shall be a growth of common unity of feeling. (Hear, hear.) We want such a common interchange of men and money, produce and other things, as should make the interests of the two undoubtedly the same; and so, apart from any political scheme or any legislative action, the common weal should be considered on one side as well as the other. Each should find, not only that justice, not only that humanity and good policy, but that our joint happiness and welfare in the performance of our respective duties depends on fostering every kind of intercourse and communication. (Hear, hear.) Now, the gentleman who has spoken so well and ably on behalf of his native country, has mentioned the difficulty which Canada exists under, inasmuch as the whole revenue is derived necessarily from Customs duty, and on that ground he justifies the imposition of heavy duties, and says it is necessary that the country should raise its revenue in that way. Now, what do we do in England? We claim to ourselves here to tax the product of other countries and our own Colonies for the purpose of raising a portion of revenue which we require for the maintenance of our own Government; but the moment we have done that we impose an equal tax upon our own subjects. The Frenchman brings his brandy here and is charged 10s. 5d. per gallon upon it, but we make a distiller at home pay an equivalent amount. Therefore there is a perfect equality between the foreign producer and the home producer. It is the same on other articles, such as tea and tobacco. We even prohibit our subjects growing tobacco, in order to prevent any competition with those countries in the production of that from which we raise the revenue. What are Customs taxes? They are simply with us an instrument for obtaining a revenue, the means of extracting from the pockets of each member of the community who inhabits the British islands his fair proportion of contribution towards the exigencies of State. We recognise no other principles on which to levy a Customs duty and adopt no other practice than that. If Customs duty is to form the sole basis of the revenue of Canada, there is a simple way of meeting the difficulty. It is this. To levy a Customs duty on the exports of that country as well as on the imports, which would act simply in the same way that the income-tax does upon the farmer. Suppose the Canadian wood-grower had to pay so much for the wood he grows upon his land, it would be the same thing as the English farmer has to pay in income-tax for his stock of corn as it stood.

Therefore, although not approving of export duties, I cannot recognise the difficulty which our Canadian friend has made ; I think it is easy to be met in the way provided, if that is the only means by which Canada can raise its revenue. I am quite sure that we must all admit the extreme importance of this question. There must be no isolation of one country from the other. England, it is said, is growing old and experiencing the disadvantages of old age, whilst the colonists are possessing the enjoyment of youth. But she ought to be quite willing to co-operate with her colonists in order that their united interests may be followed. I am certain that unless we do inculcate those principles not only in our practice individually, but likewise in our legislative action do something more to make the whole of the United Empire one body, we shall be losing our advantages and keeping our disadvantages. It is only by taking to the new growth of our Colonies that we can revive our prosperity. We want the Colonies for our superabundant population. We want them as the means of supplying us with the food we cannot produce in sufficient quantities within our own land. But whilst we intend that, the Colonies must remember that unless they will purchase from us those products of our industry which are the results of the food we buy from them, we shall not be able or disposed to continue our purchases. We shall inevitably have to look out for those countries to produce the food which we want who will buy from us the products into which that food is turned through the instrumentality of our industries. If Canada and the United States continue to shut out our manufactures, they will find that we shall not continue to be customers to them for their grain, but must either go to the countries who will be purchasers from us, or we must send our people there to grow for themselves, and then the markets which they have hitherto found will cease to be available. We are suffering from a bad harvest at home, and they are profiting from the same cause. It is to that fact that I believe the present revival of trade, so much spoken of, owes its origin. Let us have a good harvest next year, and let there be a less abundant harvest on the other side of the Atlantic, then I think the circumstances of the case will be changed. There is no probability that in a country having the great variation in climate which America possesses, there can ever be the difference in their harvest which there is in a small country like our own ; but a succession of good harvests in England and bad ones in Canada would, I think, soon show the necessity for abolishing the restrictions on trade, and would lead them to throw open their ports to our commerce. By so doing, the greatest possible strides would be taken towards

cementing the union between the mother-country and the colonists, and bringing us all together jointly to act as members of one Empire. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. STYLEMAN HERRING : The excuse I would make for speaking, very shortly, indeed, is the very intimate relationship that one has had with Canada, and especially with the subject of emigration during the last twelve years. I think the question was asked some little time ago, by a lady, of one of Canada's most witty men, in a drawing-room in London, "Who is Canada?" when he turned round and said, "An Englishman who can speak French." I think, also, since the very enlightened administration of Lord Dufferin, and also the equal (I hope and pray) administration of Lord Lorne—I can but say, very earnestly indeed, we wish the Marchioness all God-speed, who is going to cross that Atlantic, where a good many of us have gone over, sometimes at very inclement seasons of the year—I affirm that Canada and the Canadians are well known throughout the civilised world. I look more particularly to the development of Canada with regard to an immense emigration that has set in. I confess that Canada was very little known before the year 1866. Things in England were then very bad indeed; we were very anxious to find some outlet whereby vast numbers of our population were to go away. Then it was that God seemed to point to us the Colonies. Then Canada began to develop very considerably, and everything connected with the internal organisation of Canada seemed at that time to take a start, and I find that from 1866 up to the present time, Canada has received from the seaboard alone, landing at Quebec—I do not say they all stayed—I think a great many left; but, at all events, we sent from England, 858,000 emigrants to Canada. In the history of nearly all nations it is shown that wealth goes with population; and, at the present time, what Canada needs, indeed, is certainly more men and a great deal more of our wealth. It should be put into Canada instead of being given to other States, which have made little or no good use of the money which we have spent upon them. I am pleased, indeed, to read in the *Globe* newspaper that in Ottawa there is more real liveliness of trade than has been known for twelve years. Therefore, with regard to these questions as to the development, the exports, and imports, and the balance-sheets of the Empire, we can see that it is developing. No doubt this year we shall lose out of Great Britain a vast number of thoroughly good Englishmen. I am very grieved to say it, but knowing somewhat of country affairs, as well as having lived for some time in London, I can see that there is—especially in my own county of Norfolk—a

very large number of tenant-farmers who are starting off; and where are they going to, to develop? No doubt a certain number will go to the States. I not only get this information from Messrs. Allen and many others, but I find from a large number of letters from those whom I have sent into Canada (more than 4,000 people) during the last eight or ten years, and I advised a large number to go thither. I am glad to say a great many have done well; but I look upon the very large exodus of our tenant-farmers, and I inquire amongst them, where are they going to develop? and the almost universal history that I learn is this, that they are going to develop in Canada, by way of Manitoba. There is no doubt a very large number will cross over as soon as March comes in; and then it would be for the Canadian Government—and with such a good Canadian Government existing at the present time—to divert all the streams of labour, instead of their going elsewhere, and perhaps getting a little dissatisfied, that they at once took them up to Manitoba, where there has sprung up one of the most magnificent fields that we have ever had. I think we can say, looking at Canada during the last ten years, that there is no nation which has developed greater, whether in respect of trade or population; and I can only look forward to the future of Canada that it will be much more developed in the next ten years. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEAUMONT: I was attracted on reading the announcement of this evening's meeting by one word in the title of the paper, which seemed to suggest the key-note on which the paper was to be struck. It was, as I observed, to deal with the *national* development of Canada; and I felt curious to see whether the paper was worked out on that key-note. To my surprise, though I am glad to be so surprised, it does not seem to have been so. For although his title seems to be based on that idea, the purport and point of it ultimately descended upon the notion of consolidation of the Empire, a different problem indeed. But as it has been after all suggested both by the Paper and by the discussion, I would wish to say a word on the idea of *national* development, looking at the question in the view in which it would seem properly to present itself in this assembly, interested in the Colonies as we all are. For in this Colonial Institute we are always speaking about the "British Empire;" that Empire represents the nation, and the distinctive idea after all in respect of our Colonial Empire lies just in the distinction between a Colony and a nation—is that a Colony is not a nation. And therefore as the right use of language is to form and express ideas rightly, I cannot but object to the idea of Canada being a nation as rather a serious solecism. I should be sorry if it



were to be thought from my saying this that it is any disrespectful idea of inferiority about a Colony which leads me to withhold from it the style and attributes of a nation. Nothing certainly can be further from my mind in thus attempting to guard against a mischievous confusion of ideas than any such absurd jealousy. I can, indeed, honestly say that, unless indeed it were to be brought about rather by the decadence of England than the progress of her Colonies, it would seem to me to be a matter for pride and rejoicing if and when they, Canada for instance, may excel the mother-country in culture and arts, wealth and prosperity—I don't say in power and influence, just because the scope and point of my remarks are this: that so far we are all parts of one great nation, the strength and grandeur, and the very life of which consist in the harmonious and inseparable union of its members. It seems hard to understand the sort of sensitiveness which seems sometimes to feel that to be designated as a Colony or a colonist involves some kind of disparagement. It is surely the falsest of ideas. Different things must have different names, and as far as the mere name goes, I am sure if it would please any of our Colonies to be called England and that England should be called the Colony, I for one should not object, though of course I only put this as an absurdity, in order to illustrate my meaning. As to the substance of the distinction between a nation and a Colony, it is simply that between a part and the whole, and while it would seem absurd indeed to quarrel with a recognition in appropriate language of the actual existence of facts, I pity that Colony which should, as I would pity Old England if she should, be so infatuated as to conceive that its independence, its power, or its welfare in any aspect would be advanced by a dissolution of the glorious bonds of the British Empire, and a renunciation of its honourable burdens. Of course we can well understand the mere humours of individuals. I have the happiness of knowing many colonists, I appreciate their virtues and abilities, and the work they are doing for their own Colonies and our Empire; but I cannot help seeing that sometimes they are a little nettled when they come to see us in the old country—though indeed they generally take it out of us pretty well by abusing it: of course, the climate is beastly, and our London is a filthy hole, and so on; and of course it is quite natural that they should be somewhat put out to find that they do not cut quite the figure here that they do at their own homes, forgetting that there are a good many of us in this big village who rub along without ever cutting a figure at all. But I cannot help wondering that they do not turn the tables on us in another way, and say to themselves, "Confound

it all ; these people here, who live in this smoky, foggy climate, who go backwards and forwards about their wretched insular business perhaps in a twopenny omnibus, and work their souls out in crowds for a few hundreds a year, what do they know about our Colonies, their wonderful resources, their virgin lands, their halcyon climates, or the grand future which we are working out?" (Laughter.) I do not intend in the slightest degree to be sarcastic, for in truth, it is my candid belief that as we have here got our honourable line of work cut out for us, to be achieved by our own industry and efforts, and of which we have no cause to be ashamed, though it may seem to those who are not only the heirs of all the ages, but the pioneers of the future, that our way is a somewhat worn and narrow groove—yet theirs is the great career, surely the grandest that ever men had. But that England is the mother-country and the heart of the Empire, is merely a matter of fact. She has borne the burden and heat of the day of English work and history, and to that work she still bends her back. It would then be childish to quarrel with that just authority and precedence on her part, which is for the good of all. It is simply the fact, that, as her Colonies are younger, so they are poorer, weaker, and more backward in organisation, and must in the natural course of things long remain so. Reference has been made to the language of an eminent man, in which he drew a contrast between a dependency and an auxiliary. I am bound to say that I see no occasion for the contrast ; but I am proud to say that the Colonies are auxiliaries as important and valuable as any country could desire—for I believe that England, stripped of its Colonies, would be but a petty country in the hierarchy of nations. And not only so—not only would it represent itself to the world at large as altogether inferior in power and influence as compared with its past and present greatness, but to our descendants its security, and honour, and prosperity, their just and invaluable inheritance, would be so grievously reduced and impoverished, that those who have an interest in its welfare or a voice in its government, would surely commit not only a monstrous error, but a great crime, if they should by word or act advance the fatal mischief of the deprivation of Great Britain of her Colonial Empire. It is because such talk tends in that direction, that I object to the idea of national development of a Colony ; and as, of course, a Colony as an integral part of the Empire, would not be content with a status of inferiority, I persist in objecting to the notion of inferiority at all—just as I should object to the notion of my son being my inferior because he was so called. A son may, no doubt, be sub-

ordinate, and during his youth and adolescence he must be so; but he is not inferior because nature has made him a son, or because necessity, or prudence, or good feeling has made him subordinate or considerate; while, on the other hand, he gains from all these things and in every way. Talk about the Empire, if you like; and in respect to the development of their resources, and energies, and independent or correlated systems, let the Colonies work out and advance their future condition to the utmost prosperity—only, let them believe that they owe a great debt to England as well as a great debt to yourselves, in and for the accomplishment of these things. They owe to England not only their existence and antecedents, and for infinite toil, and risk, and fostering care, but they can never forget that they are indebted to her for, and bound to her by, all the best that they have—not alone their noble language and all its wealth and learning, or thought and knowledge, but the yet more unique treasure of her admirable traditions; not merely of her great history, but of her political experience, moderation, and wisdom, social order and freedom, domestic associations, commercial and industrial energy and aptitude, and a “goodwill” and “connection” such as no young people before ever possessed on entering the business of life. I will only add, in direct connection with the tenour of these observations, that it appears to me that the disparaging references in the paper to the Colonial system of England were quite unfounded. Full of faults that system may have been, but they have been mainly faults of *laissez faire*, and surely never faults of oppression. I will put out of sight, of course, the chapter concerning the old American Colonies and their secession. That is far too wide and controverted a topic to enter on. But there is a great deal to be said on that matter which is not yet taken account of in the popular notions of history. No doubt there are plenty of mistakes, and grave ones, on both sides, but the chapter has been closed, and has taught us a great deal. I put aside, too, the great blot of negro slavery, as it lies apart from the scope of these observations; and setting these matters on one side, I am bold to say that the Colonial policy of England has always been eminent for its liberality and justice towards the colonists; and it cannot be attributed to her that she has sacrificed their interests to those of the mother-country. The writer of the paper has spoken of the Navigation Laws as if they were enacted for the special advantage of England at the expense of the Colonies. That is totally unfounded. Whatever may have been the errors of those laws in point of policy—and their policy has now been, I suppose, irreversibly condemned—they were never

aimed at the Colonies as such at all, but were contrived for what was then supposed to be the general advantage of the whole Empire including the Colonies, as against all the rest of the world. It is said that was a false notion, and it may be so. I suppose it was ; but, so far as the Colonies are concerned, their object was to foster them, to unite them most closely with England, and to provide that they should be under the same restrictions for the sake of the fame and advantages. That was a system of justice which I think, if you look through the whole story of our Colonial administration, you will find has rarely been wanting, so as to justify the accusation that England has not had due regard to the interests of her Colonies. But what I desire to urge, in conclusion, is that there is no sort of ground or reason in these discussions to set up the interests of the Colonies as adverse to those of the mother-country. As a general principle they cannot be so, they are all the common interests of one great Empire, and rest—and ought to rest—secure and co-ordinate on that one basis. No doubt the interests of all members will not always concur at all points. Whenever there has been, or may be, matters of actual difference brought into discussion, I hope there has been and will be an opportunity of showing that the English people, whether those who stay at home or those who do not, desire to do full justice to one another. But when we are engaged in discussing the interests of the one part of the Empire in its relations to the other, I maintain that it is a dangerous solecism to speak of the national development of any one member, and that our chief aim should be the welfare and advancement and the consolidation of the British Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. FRASER RAE : The evening is advancing ; and although we have heard able speeches, I think I should please the assembly as much as the preceding speakers by saying a very little. One trifling thing, a sort of contribution to historical notes, I should like to mention ; it is this, that in the Reform Club, of which I am a member, Lord Sydenham's portrait is placed on the walls, along with those of other illustrious members of the party, and under it is an inscription, which some of my fellow-citizens of Canada who have visited the Club have read with surprise. It is, " Lord Sydenham and Toronto." It so happens that Lord Sydenham and Toronto is the only member of the illustrious body of which you are a distinguished ornament who bears a Colonial title ; it is a fact that should not be forgotten, and no doubt if the writer of the Paper had been aware of it he would have given that peer his full title. Another point is one relating to that great Canadian North-West,

which ought to have been mentioned in the Paper. The writer indulged in several references to the unpleasantness which occurred on this side of the ocean and the other owing to the interference of British Ministers with Colonial affairs; but he omitted the important fact that it is due to the services, in the first place, of the Duke of Buckingham, who was then the Colonial Secretary, and afterwards of his successor, Lord Granville, that Canada has obtained that magnificent country on terms which, I venture to think, are unexampled in landed transactions. It is twelve hundred miles long and five hundred miles broad; and all it cost Canada was £800,000. The Canadians grudge the outlay; they think it exorbitant; but I confess I should like to be able to purchase as fine a landed estate at the same price. (Laughter.) But had it not been for the pressure exercised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies over the Hudson's Bay Company they might have been owners of that tract of country to-day. I think that circumstance ought not to have been overlooked in the Paper. (Hear, hear.) A point made by several speakers, and the strongest one with regard to the closer alliance between Canada and the British Empire, is associated with the question of the free interchange of commodities. That, I venture to say, is the foundation of the whole matter. Free Trade and intercommunion are the complements of each other; and as matters now stand, there is little prospect of such a change as would enable a closer union to be formed. Nevertheless it cannot be forgotten that the policy of Protection is of recent date in Canada, being due to the majority obtained about a year ago by the supporters of Sir John Macdonald, and there is no doubt that when that majority is converted into a minority, the members of the Liberal party in Canada—who, if not Free Traders to a man, are opposed to any Protective duties for other than revenue purposes—will reverse this fatal policy, and will then render it possible to arrange for a closer connection with the mother-land. Nearly all Colonial questions are substantially economic questions. Mr. Bourinot points out how the old system was to restrict the colonists in every possible way. They were not permitted to do what pleased and suited them, but they were obliged to regulate their actions according to a scale drawn up by Colonial Secretaries. Indeed, the standing grievance of the colonists used to be that they were not permitted to manufacture any goods for themselves. The Canadians now say, "We will not permit you to manufacture any goods for us." In point of fact, they have initiated as against this country, that policy of restriction which they considered indefensible when they were its victims. I feel certain that the policy was a

monstrous one when enforced by this country, and that one of its consequences was the separation of the thirteen American Colonies from the parent State. I may repeat a prophecy to which a distinguished member of the late Government of this country gave utterance a short time since. It is to this effect—that we lost the American Colonies because we insisted upon taxing them, while we may lose our other Colonies because we will not permit them to tax us. (Hear, hear.)

MR. DONALD A. SMITH, M.P., of Canada: It was not my intention to say a word when I came here, but after hearing the views given expression to by my esteemed friend Mr. Doutre, I wish to make one or two observations, and promise not to say anything about the national development. It appears to me that the views of my honourable friend are predicated on the present, or rather what is now happily the past, relative position of the two countries he refers to—Canada and the United States. The latter, a very large country, stretching across the Continent to the Pacific, and having an immense area of land capable of producing cotton and wheat, and the other grain crops in the greatest perfection; while the former was little else than a thin line of territory along the river St. Lawrence and the lakes, with its background looking towards the North Pole. Under these circumstances it might have been reasonable to expect that Canada would be absorbed politically by her more powerful neighbour; but how changed are the conditions now, since the great North-West territories, including British Columbia, have been added to the Dominion! The North-West itself, of far greater extent than the old provinces of Canada, including in its "fertile belt" not only the best part of the Red River Valley, but extending from the International Boundary in latitude forty-nine to fifty-six or fifty-seven degrees north, some five or six hundred miles, and stretching away westward twelve hundred miles to the Rocky Mountains, capable, as it is well known to be, of producing wheat of the finest description—for it has been ascertained beyond a doubt that, however far north you may go, so long as the wheat will come to maturity, there you find that it is of the best quality for the support, not alone of the hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of people who may soon be expected to occupy it, but also of furnishing an abundant supply for the people of Great Britain and other European countries, the only difficulty at present being that of transportation. It has been asserted by those who have given careful consideration to the subject that at no distant day, wheat from the North-West of the Dominion will be delivered in England at less than 26s. a quarter,

and I believe even at this moment it could be landed at Liverpool for 82s., as it can be produced in the North-West at a cost not exceeding 40 cents., or 1s. 8d. sterling, per bushel. It is quite correct, as stated by the learned writer of the Paper which has been read to you this evening, that as much as forty bushels of wheat has been grown on one acre in Manitoba. I speak from my own knowledge, that such is the case. Of course that is somewhat exceptional, but we may fairly set it down that the average produce in the North-West would be from twenty-five to thirty bushels per acre; and when we see that without railway facilities, until within twelve months back, a country which nine years ago had only, all told, about ten thousand inhabitants, not including the Indian population, now has some fifty or sixty thousand thrifty settlers, with the city of Winnipeg of fully ten thousand inhabitants, where, in 1870, there were perhaps a hundred and fifty people—that there is now direct railway communication from Montreal and New York by way of Chicago and St. Paul through to Winnipeg, and that we shall have a railway entirely through Canadian territory to Manitoba completed in about two years, may we not with confidence look forward to such a rapid increase of population in that part of the Dominion as will work a complete change, and give an entirely new aspect to the future of Canada? Take the North-Western States of the Union only a few years back—why the state of Minnesota itself, then a territory, and still only very partially developed, which adjoins Manitoba, some thirty years back was little else than a wilderness, and did not produce food sufficient even for the few hundreds of people within it, while to-day it has a population of several hundred thousands, with large and wealthy cities, and its yearly produce of wheat alone is from thirty to fifty million bushels. Reasoning from this, may we not expect still greater results in our own North-West, where the conditions for wheat-growing are even more favourable than in the United States? Now, I think that my friend, in speaking of the near approach of annexation, could not have considered sufficiently the change that has taken place in Canada in having added to it the great North-West. For what is it that has given to the United States its vast population of upwards of forty millions of people, with all the influence they wield? Is it not the great extent of its territory, which offered to the suffering people of Europe a comfortable home and wealth? And, with the same advantages on our side, may we not reasonably look forward for the same results, and that both countries will, side by side, go forward in full commercial intercourse—which I believe must come—increas-

ing in numbers and adding to their material prosperity, without any necessity for a political union? We in the North-West—for I happen to be one of the representatives from that country—believe that we shall not be behind the United States in our ability to supply this country with the bread stuffs you must have; and I think further, that we ought not to look upon it as an evil that many of the substantial men of this country, farmers and others, are going out to the North-West, for I believe you can well spare them, and that if two or even three millions leave, you will not be in worse circumstances—for you will have less competitors for the work to be done, and better pay for those who remain behind; while those who go away from you will have the opportunity of making for themselves a certain independence, and will be able to return to you tenfold by the result of their industry in their new homes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: I should not have said one word at this late hour of the evening but for the observation which fell from the last speaker but one, Mr. Rae, who said that if we cannot have Free Trade we cannot have anything like Federation or a closer connection with the Colonies than exists at the present time. Now I am as thorough a Free Trader, I believe, as the hon. gentleman. but I fail to see by what process of argument he has arrived at the conclusion which he stated. He has not told us why Free Trade is indispensable to the continuance of the Colonies in union with the mother-country. I admit that it would be most desirable to have Free Trade between all parts of the British Empire; but if some portions of that Empire should adopt what we may consider the erroneous policy of Protection, if they should raise a revenue by protective or Customs duties, may they not be allowed to do so? May we not agree to differ on this policy of Free Trade and Protection, and still remain a united Empire with regard to all that is great? May we not continue a united Empire for the purpose of a common defence and common strength and security? Why, the hon. gentleman is familiar with the state of things which existed a century ago. We find in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" the descriptions of restrictions to trade between different parts of the United Kingdom—nay, between different parts of England itself; and when those restrictions existed, did they impair the national greatness of England, or did they prevent the unity of the United Kingdom as one united power? And, therefore, although I should hope to see a more enlightened policy on the subject of tariffs, still I feel that it is perfectly possible for the Empire to remain great and united, and still to differ upon



this question of Free Trade and Protection. Now, I was exceedingly sorry to hear the speech of Mr. Doutre. We have always heard Canada spoken of in our meetings, both by resident Canadians and those who had visited the country, as a great country, with a great future with grand resources, and splendid soil, capable of feeding any amount of population; but we have been told this evening that the United States would have it in their power absolutely to starve her into annexation. I never heard a more doleful picture of the future of Canada presented to this assembly, nor have I ever read a more doleful account of the country than that which the hon. gentleman presented to us in those words about starving Canadians into union with the United States. As to the word "national." I regret exceedingly that any such word should appear in the title of one of our Papers as it does in this. It is misleading to anyone who does not read through the Paper. The author clearly does not mean a Canadian nationality as distinguished from a British nationality, yet it is a bad word to use; it is a word with a separatist ring about it. You cannot have two nations in one nation; and if the British Empire is to be one nation, we must not talk of Canadian nationality, or Australian nationality, or South African nationality. We know that the sound of the word on the other side of St. George's Channel has a bad ring about it; and I am sorry that it should be used in connection with any idea except the one grand idea of British nationality throughout the world-wide Empire to which we belong. (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is time that I should propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Bourinot for his very able Paper; but before doing so I would remark that Mr. Stephen Bourne made an objection to what he thought was stated in Mr. Bourinot's Paper, that Canadians should legislate for themselves in their own Assembly, and should sit next to the members for Liverpool and Manchester in the House of Commons and legislate for England. But I think that Mr. Bourinot stated distinctly that his idea was that there should be legislation for each part of the Empire and the United Kingdom—at least that is my idea of a Federal Union—that there should be another Legislature, in which Canada and the United Kingdom should be represented on mutual terms for Imperial purposes, not dealing with local questions, which should be dealt with by the House of Commons for England. But I must say that this Paper itself strikes me as a very great proof that we need not be alarmed here in England if we were legislated for in local matters by Canadians. (Hear, hear.) I think the advance of

Canada, the progress and development of Canada which is described in this Paper, would very much reassure me at the prospect of being legislated for by Mr. Bourinot or Sir John Macdonald or Mr. Mackenzie; in fact, I should almost prefer being legislated for by them than by Mr. Parnell or Mr. Dillon. (Laughter.) Mr. Bourinot refers with pride to us as belonging to one great stock, and I hope that what he anticipates, or at least hopes for, may be brought about before long. He stated broadly that he should prefer not, in fact that he objected altogether to the union with their present neighbours the United States. (Hear, hear.) But I think that more unlikely things might happen, and that if there were a great Empire, a Federal Empire of England and her Colonies, I think that even the United States might perhaps not think it degrading to them to join that Confederation. I think that it is not impossible that we may have such a magnificent position. At any rate, I think California is very likely to join a Federal Empire of that kind. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks having been accorded to Mr. Bourinot,

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, in acknowledging it on his behalf, said: I am the mouthpiece of Mr. Bourinot on this occasion, and I can assure you that it affords me the greatest possible pleasure to be able to receive, and communicate to him, the vote of thanks which you have given to him. I should like, as the word "national" has been referred to, to read an extract from a letter which I lately received from Mr. Bourinot, which I think will place a different complexion on the title of his Paper from that which has been attributed to it. I know the word "national" is a dangerous one to use, as apparently implying something like a separate nationality. I confess that when I first read the Paper, although some of my colleagues did entertain that view—I did not share it entirely myself—I thought that, although the word might have been rather unfortunately chosen in the estimation of some people, the intention of the writer was simply to show that Canada formed a part of British nationality. I wrote to Mr. Bourinot to that effect, and this is what he says to me in reply: "I am glad you like the Paper. I have endeavoured to treat the whole question from a national standpoint—not as a Canadian, but as a citizen of the Empire. You have quite appreciated what I mean by 'national.' In fact, the whole scope of my Paper goes to show that I wish to draw all the members of the Empire more closely together. We have made such great progress that we possess all the elements of a nation; the time is fast approaching when statesmen must decide whether these elements are, or are not, to

resolve themselves into the Empire at large, or into a separate power. I hope you will read the Paper yourself, as you can best enter into the spirit that has dictated it." I have ventured to read that extract from his letter, because I think it shows that Mr. Bourinot had no idea of making the word "national" signify what has been attributed to him, or, as if—by using it—he intended to express anything in the shape of a separate nationality from the mother-country. I thank you sincerely on his behalf. And, although I have read the Paper to you for him this evening, it must not be assumed that I agree with every word of it, but I do most sincerely agree with that part of it which advocates Federation. It is well known in this room that I am an Imperial Federationist to the backbone. No doubt there are enormous difficulties in the way of the solution of a question of this kind; but if the idea is to be embraced by the British public in the way some of us have embraced it, then it must include the whole Colonial Empire; and all questions with regard to trade or tariffs or anything of that kind must be referred to a National Representative Parliament, which should be able to enforce such a policy on the whole of the nation, and which should be accepted as completely as it is now in Great Britain. This idea, I hope, will penetrate the British mind one of these days. (Cheers.)

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## FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session took place at the "Pall Mall," 14, Regent-street, on Tuesday, the 24th February, 1880, His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., in the chair. Amongst those present were the following :—

Colonel Sir Charles Pearson, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.; Colonel G. Arbuthnot, R.A., M.P.; Mr. R. P. Blennerhassett, M.P.; the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, M.P.; Lord Charles Montagu, Mr. G. W. Des Vaux, C.M.G. (late administering the Government of Fiji), Dr. John Chapman, Messrs. A. R. Campbell Johnson, Alex. Rivington, Henry de Collyar, Robert B. Bell, C.E.; H. W. Freeland, Alexander Ward, A. H. Knight, E. P. S. Sturt (Melbourne), R. M. McKerrill (Mauritius), Wilmer M. Harris, E. H. G. Dalton (British Guiana), E. A. Petherick (Victoria), Edward Johnson, James A. Youl, C.M.G.; G. N. Emmett, Henry F. Shipster (South Australia), Mark Cattley, Henry Brittain, Captain Von de Ven (South Africa), Mr. Hamilton Miles (New Zealand), Mr. S. W. Silver, Capt. J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Mr. Tranlett, Colonel Moncrieff, Messrs. W. J. Browne (South Australia), Hastings C. Huggins (British Guiana), G. Molineux, C. J. Follet, Stephen Bourne, F. P. Labilliere, H. B. Hallswell, T. H. Faulkner, F. E. Metcalfe (New Zealand), R. F. Carter, William Shanford (Gold Coast), Charles Duncleley, B. H. Reinecker, Auditor General (Trinidad), Hon. C. R. Young, M.L.C. (South Australia), J. Stent, William Downes Griffith (Cape Colony), C. C. Bethel, John Lascelles (Victoria), S. H. Lowe, W. S. Wetherell, Charles Guthrie, H. B. T. Strangways, Levison E. Scastt, J. M. Peacock (Cape Colony), E. A. Wallace, Mr. H. E. Montgomerie and Miss Montgomerie, Colonel Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.; Major-General Lowry, C.B.; James Williamsou (Victoria), Chas. Bischoff (British Columbia), W. R. Mewburn, John Miller (Canada), S. Hoffnung (New South Wales), A. Thibandean (Canada), R. Ramsden, John Rae, M.D., LL.D. (Canada), James Edgcome, John Farnier, Alexander Donaldson (South Australia), W. W. Rust (New South Wales), J. S. O'Halloran, A. B. Abraham, W. H. Knight, W. S. Knight, W. Miller, H. J. B. Darby, Nevill Blyth (South Australia), J. Baxter, W. C. Long, Ernest H. Gough, Alfred Bules, W. Crickmay, J. Stonehouse, John Pulker, R. G. Webster, W. R. Dutt, W. E. Mirehouse, Scarks, G. Jennings, H. J. Barrows, Rev. H. M. E. Desmond, Captain Cragie, Mr. Lempriere, Captain Hans Busk, Captain Corbett, Mrs. Corbett, Messrs. Ropley, H. F. Hooke, David A. Hume, James Tobin, James H. Crossman, C. D. Buckler, John Irving (Canada), C. W. Radcliffe Cooke, L. S. Christie (Melbourne), Hyde Clarke, Alexander Rogers (late M. L. C. Bombay), J. D. Wood, A. Focking (Cape Colony), Mr. and Mrs. W. Westgarth, Lady McClure, Mr. H. Blyth (South Australia), Sir Arthur

Blyth, K.C.M.G. (Agent General for South Australia), Mr. John Travers, J. M. P. Jauralde, Dr. Jameson, R.N., Mr. Justin H. McCarthy and Miss McCarthy, J. Ashwood (Sierra Leone), Mr. and Mrs. W. Hemmant (Queensland), Mr. J. H. Fitt and Mrs. Fitt (Barbados), Miss Appletree (Barbados), Major Lloyd, Mr. Alexander Sclanders (New Zealand), Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Russell (Victoria), Miss Russell, Miss A. G. Russell, Fung Yee (China), Mr. J. N. De Wolf, M.D., and Mrs. De Wolf (Nova Scotia), Mr. F. W. Hyde (British Kaffraria), Mr. and Mrs. R. Stewart (Cape Colony), Mr. J. D. Southlau (New South Wales), Mr. and Miss E. Chapman (New South Wales), Messrs. Henry Butler, Cornelius Walford, Thomas W. Irwine (Cape Colony), Julius P. Jameson (Cape Colony), J. V. H. Irwin, Frederick Young, Hon. Secretary, &c.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the Third Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows :—

**As Resident-Fellows :—**

Henry Brooks, Esq., John Farmer, Esq., Edward Charles Healey, Esq., Thomas W. Irvine, Esq., Henry Moules, Esq., W. Murray, Esq., E. J. Neill, Esq., George W. Plant, Esq., B. Miller Robertson, Esq.

**As Non-Resident Fellows :—**

B. E. Colaço Belmont, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., British Guiana; W. F. Bridges, Esq., British Guiana; L. S. Christie, Esq., Melbourne, Australia; H. J. Feltham, Esq., Griqualand West; George Little, Esq., British Guiana; Norman McLeod, Esq., Ceylon; Charles Rawson, Esq., Queensland; Horatio Read, Esq., British Guiana.

The HONORARY SECRETARY also announced that donations of books, &c., had been received from the following :—

By the Government of British Guiana :

British Guiana Ordnances, Nos. 1 to 9, 1879.

By the Government of Natal :

Natal Blue Book.

By the Government of New Zealand :

Parliamentary Papers and Debates.

By the Government of South Australia :

Statistical Register, 1878; Acts of Parliament, 1878.

By the Colonial Office :

The Colonial Office List, 1862 to 1870.

By the Government Statist, South Australia :

Statistical Sketch of South Australia.

By the Government Statist, Victoria :

The Victorian Year Book, 1878-9.

- By the Agent-General for New South Wales:  
Registrar-General's Report on the Vital Statistics of Sydney and Suburbs, for November, 1879.
- By the Agent-General for Victoria:  
Paper on Papuan Plants, by F. Von Mueller, 1875; Statistical Register of Victoria, and Australasian Statistics, 1878.
- By the Anthropological Institute:  
Journal of the Institute, August and November, 1879.
- By the Leeds Public Library:  
Ninth Annual Report of the Leeds Public Library, 1878-9.
- By the Liverpool Free Library:  
Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Free Public Library, Museum, and Walker Art Gallery, 1880.
- By the Royal Geographical Society:  
Proceedings of the Society, February, 1880.
- By the Social Science Association:  
Transactions of the Association, 1874 to 1878.
- By the Hon. A. G. Archibald, C.M.G., Lieut.-Gov. of Nova Scotia:  
Record Commission Catalogue, 1877.
- By the Author:  
Protection and Bad Times. By G. S. Baden Powell. 1 vol., 1880.
- By A. de Boucherville, Esq.:  
Mauritius, Société d'Emulation Intellectuelle, 1879; Revue Coloniale, October, 1871, to February, 1872.
- By J. G. Bourinot, Esq.:  
Belcher's Farmers' Almanac, Canada, 1880.
- By the Author:  
The Defence of Great and Greater Britain. By Capt. J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A. 1 vol., 1880.
- By Messrs. Dalgleish and Reid, New Zealand:  
Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.
- By J. Dike, Esq.:  
Reports of the Tenant Farmers' Delegates on the Dominion of Canada as a Field for Settlement.
- By Messrs. Gordon and Gutch, Queensland:  
The Railway and Loan Policy of Queensland.
- By H. A. Greig, Esq.:  
Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Capetown, 1847.
- By Henry Hall, Esq.:  
Causes of Blindness in India. By G. C. Hall. 1 vol., 1879.
- By J. V. H. Irwin, Esq.:  
Missionary Labours in British Guiana. By Rev. J. H. Bornan.
- By William Miller, Esq.:  
The British Commonweal.
- By C. J. Percival, Esq.:  
The Australasian, January to June, 1879.

By the Hon. J. H. Phillips, M.L.C.:

British Honduras Almanac, 1880; a Narrative of a Journey across the unexplored portion of British Honduras, with a short Sketch of the History and Resources of the Colony. By Henry Fowler, Colonial Secretary. 1879.

The CHAIRMAN moved that the words "or special" be added to Rule 65, after the word "ordinary" in the third line, which, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. A. STAVELEY HILL, Q.C., M.P., to read the following Paper, entitled—

### AN EMPIRE'S PARLIAMENT.

I have no time for preface. My subject will most fully occupy all the time that I may fairly claim. Its topics are: An Empire and a Parliament. What is an Empire? In the long roll of centuries rules have risen, powers that have concentrated within one grasp nations and territories—the Empires of the Nile, of the Euphrates, of Macedon, and of Rome, and again, in later days, the attempts of Charlemagne and of Spain; I may except what in theory were the aspirations of Imperial France. Each and all of these were filled with one idea, were guided to one aim: "Raise for ourselves here the capital, surround it with our own pomp, fill it with our own magnificence, let those who throng around our throne feel loyalty swelling in this one strain: Great is our Emperor. Bow down all before him; but bow only as a part of him to whom the world is subject, and while we bow we reap with him from you our subjects the tax which the vassal pays to his lord." Such is the homage and such the boast of Empire that resounds from the sculptured tombs of Thebes and Assyria; such rang in the cheers of Alexander's troops and Rome's legions. I do not say but that there was present the pretension, "We are foremost in civilised thought, and are working for the good of the earth." Without such higher hopes and pretence a belief in Empire would be so unmeaning, that a sustained advance would be impossible; still, in all of these that I have mentioned, with the exception, perhaps, of Alexander's short-lived energies, where the assimilation of races by wholesale removals of peoples formed a main feature of the Imperial plan, the advancement of their country's power has had but as a feeble subsidiary strength the progress of the human race.

Empire, then, has hitherto been simply rule; the desire has been to annex, not by the assimilating influence of progress, but by conquest; not by an extension of race, but by a dominating in-

fluence of the conquering people ; not so much by incorporation as by subjugation. And this must always be the state of things where the land acquired is already occupied by an established race, and one not perhaps inferior, however widely differing, in art and education, from those who thus become their lords. I can illustrate this difference in no way more distinctly than by pointing to the relative position of England to India and Australia : both may be in one sense equally her own, but the one is her ward, the other is herself.

It is not for me to-night to draw even in sketch the power and possessions of England, still less in any way to criticise or animadvert upon the steps by which she has risen to her present position. Before this society, still less would it be necessary for me to discuss her duty as Head of her great Empire. The very fact of this society, our very reason in meeting here to-night, illustrates our agreement upon this as a cardinal truth. England is at the head of a great system, that system we call British Empire, not a system of allied or tributary States, but an expansion of herself ; it is for the interest alike of ourselves and for the whole human race that that Empire should remain united in the closest bonds, that its greater unification should be earnestly aimed at, and anything like severance of its constituent parts most energetically fought against.

Accepting, then, that this closer unity is desirable, I come to the immediate subject of this address : Is it possible to obtain this closer unity, and in what way ? Empires in their history have followed the natural law of agglomeration and dispersion. Parishes have been united in provinces or counties, these in a kingdom, kingdoms in a state, and states in an empire ; and then has come a disruption, and the atoms fall away into other combinations. In few of these do we find traces of a federal principle. The federal unions in history have been the Amphictyonic Council of the twelve nations of Greece, the German Empire in its various phases, the Helvetic Republic, the United Netherlands, and the United States of America. Of the constitution of the Amphictyonic League there is little which can guide us by an example or warning ; of a strictly religious character in its origin, it took its place from the feeling of a necessity for an arbiter between quarrelsome tribes, and it occupied very much the position, and in this respect shared very much the fate, of the Popedom in its attempts to mediate and control the stronger power. Of scarcely less profit to us would it be to dwell upon the two other federations which I have mentioned. Passing by, therefore, as imperfect federations those unions for the validity of whose acts it was required that all measures, after consultation



by their representatives, should obtain a ratification by the individual states, and in which there was wanting therefore the first requirement of confederation, an original consent and mandate, the two last federated bodies that I have mentioned, the German Empire and the United States, appear to be the only two whose history and constitution can guide us in proposing a scheme for the union of our own Empire. I do not bring forward, as an example of federation, the case of the Dominion. Our work there was (to quote the words of the preamble of the Act of 1867) to provide as the Government for another land "a Constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." Such Confederation has really but little bearing upon the question at present before me.

In speaking to-night of the German Empire, I confine myself to the existing confederation; for, while the history of the older German Empire and of the Germanic Diet, as it existed from 1815 to 1866, contains most profitable lessons as to both the value and the difficulties of Federation, yet as the present confederation is undoubtedly the fullest development of the system, it is sufficient for our present purpose to point to the constitution of the existing body.

The relative position of England and her Colonies differs very materially both from that of the States of the German Empire and of the United States: our Colonies do not exercise the independence of the sovereignties of the Bund, nor have they with us the exact equality of the United States.

This is a distinction which, in my judgment, should help to the realisation of a closer unity. Each, both Mother-country and Colony, has something to concede to the other; and it is in this light that the objection does not press upon me, that it is too late now to talk of a closer union, when we have given responsible and representative Government to our Colonies, for it seems to me that while, on the one hand, they are not yet separated from us as distinct powers, yet, on the other, at no earlier period of their existence could we have recognised them as so far our equals as to be admitted into the close alliance now proposed. Of those which we propose now to unite to us, the minority has come to an end, the struggling days of childhood and of education have passed, and we claim them as our natural partners, and admit them to the due share of the profit and possible risk of our great undertakings.

In considering this subject we should always carry in our minds the two states of future possibilities between which we have to make our choice: the one, England and her Colonies becoming gradually more and more severed until each becomes an independent State or joins a confederation with other States placed

apparently more in connection with her, either geographically or commercially, and England and her Colonies joined as one Empire, granting each to the other full commercial privileges, united in mutual self-defence against an attack. Of the importance to England of her Colonial Empire, it is unnecessary for me to speak in this place. Its importance to our trade, Mr. Frederick Young has shown by a most careful compilation and analysis of statistics illustrating the extent to which we depend upon our Colonies as our customers, and this has been ably summed up by Mr. Farrer Ecroyd after a review of the condition of English trade in 1877—"In other words, every Australian is as large a customer to us as sixteen Americans, and every Canadian is better to us than thirty-five Russians."

Mr. Brassey has emphasised this by the application of the well-known saying that "trade follows the flag," and has lately, in an address to the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, quoted upon this important question of Imperial unity the opinions of eminent Colonial authorities in support of his argument, to which I heartily accede, that "the indefinite adjournment of this question is most earnestly to be deprecated."

We must not suppose that the first proceeding will be the complete or final adjustment. This is, I think, the answer to many objections: Federation must be progressive, as all things human are a process of development; only take care that every forward step is, as far as may be, in the right direction.

Let me, in order to illustrate this, point to the progressive history of the American Union.

In the first Constitution of the New England States, as early as 1648, under the title of the "United Colonies of New England," a body, consisting of two commissioners from each Colony, was to assemble annually, or oftener if need be, to discuss and decide all matters which are "the proper results or concomitants of a Federation;" they were to discuss and settle questions of war and peace with the Indians, and to arrange the quota of men which each Colony should supply to the army in proportion to its population. In 1722 a plan of Federal Government was propounded which developed into Franklin's more perfected proposition in July, 1754, that the people of the Colonies through their legislatures should elect triennially a grand council; each Colony to send a number of members in proportion to its constitution, not less than two nor more than seven. This grand council to meet once a year, to choose their own Speaker, and neither to be dissolved; nor prorogued, nor to continue sitting longer than six weeks at any one

time, but by their own consent ; the King to name and support a Governor-General with veto on all laws. One of the reasons which Franklin gives for his plan of a federal as against a partial union is so much to the point that I venture to cite it. "It was also thought," says he, "that by the frequent meetings together of commissioners or representatives from all the Colonies, the circumstances of the whole would be better known, the good of the whole better provided for ; and that the Colonies would by this connection learn to consider themselves not as so many independent States but as members of the same body ; and thence be more ready to afford assistance and support to each other, and to make diversions in favour even of the most distant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all against the common enemy." Then came the discussion of the possibility of a representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament of England, and then the disruption with the country, and their independent existence. Yet even in the hands of the determined and energetic guardians of the young Republic, we must remember in what a languishing condition the Federation stood in 1784, and the great amount of work that was devoted during the six following years to that reform of the national compact which led to the unanimous ratification of the existing constitution of June, 1790.

Let me state very succinctly those points of the Federal constitution of the United States and of the German Empire which bear upon the scheme which I propose to lay before you ; for by thus placing the plans of the two chief existing Federations on the same board, as it were, with the scheme which I will lay before you, I shall most easily submit that scheme to your consideration and judgment.

In the American Confederation all legislative power is in Congress, consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives ; the Senate being composed of two senators from each State and numbering at present sixty, chosen by the Legislatures of such States for six years, of which body one-third is renewable every second year, each senator having one vote, the Vice-President of the United States being President of the Senate *virtute officii*. The House of Representatives, which numbered in 1822 two hundred and thirteen members, consists, under the ninth census of 1870, of 293 members, each of whom must be an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen ; and as the population of the United States at that census was 38½ millions, we have thus one representative to about 125,000 of the population ; a general election takes place at the end of two years. Delegates are admitted from each

organised territory, not admitted to State rights. Congress assembles at least once in each year.

This, then, in the hands of men of English race, with a thorough knowledge of English constitutional history, and I venture to add, reverence for the English Constitution, is the most perfect development of Federation which they have been able to produce. It may be, and perhaps is, capable of further improvement; but crown it with the permanence of the institutions attending a constitutional monarchy, in substitution for the prevalence of those which necessarily attach to a recurring change of the chief magistrate, and who shall say that a similar Constitution may not in the course of events seem to be adapted to the federated British Empire?

The governing body of the German Empire, under the præsidium of the Crown of Prussia, consists of the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The Bundesrath, or Federal Council, consists of fifty-nine members appointed by the several States or Governments whom they represent, of which number Prussia, with the provinces of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfort, sends seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Wurtemberg each four, Baden and Hesse each three, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick each two, and seventeen other States and cities one each. The members are for the most part Ministers, or at least high officers, of their respective States, not members of the Local Parliament but of the Local Governments, and must be looked upon rather as ambassadors than as representatives. The Bundesrath consult in secret like the Privy Council, they possess a veto on the acts of the Reichstag, and according to the number of the members allotted to each State vote each with that full number as one voice. There must be a yearly session. They may be summoned without the Reichstag, but the latter cannot be summoned without the former, and the consent of the Bundesrath is required before a declaration of war.

The Reichstag consists at present of 397 members, of which Prussia sends 286, Bavaria forty-eight, Wurtemberg seventeen, Saxony twenty-three, Baden four, Alsace-Lorraine fifteen, Hesse nine, Mecklenburg-Schwerin six, and the other States and cities from one to three each, giving a proportion of one member to about 100,000 of population, and reckoning as 100,000 each excess of 50,000. A general election takes place every three years.

The fact that a federation of these States has been brought about gives to the constitution of the German Empire a claim to our consideration, for, to a far greater extent than could be found with us, there was to be overcome the difficulty of a sacrifice of

independence by the different kingdoms upon their amalgamation in the German Empire. The framers of the Constitution had, therefore, to provide for the national jealousies which were felt by the smaller States, and while carefully guarding against future disintegration they had to preserve to each, as far as could be done, independent local action.

Having thus before us these details of the constitution of existing Federations, let us pass to the more special circumstances of the British Empire.

If our Colonies are to be taken into council with us on the affairs of our joint Empire, to share with us equally, in proportion to their interests, in its administration, let us proceed to discuss in what way it may be accomplished. That they should send members to our existing Houses, and so create a Parliament which would be neither British nor Colonial, nor yet Imperial, increasing the amount of business which already overtaxes its powers, is scarcely to be argued; that there should be a Federal Congress of two Houses, a perfect Imperial Parliament, would press too heavily, in their present condition, upon the representative resources of the Colonies, and, though undoubtedly a grand conception, would be far too cumbrous a machine for the purpose for which this bond of union is at present required. By some the plan which I will proceed to lay before you may be thought not sufficient, while to others, perhaps, it may appear too great an innovation upon our present Constitution.

It is with reason said that in this place we rise above party politics, and if we ever mention here with praise the name of any particular statesman, it is only because his policy and measures have shown themselves as eminently conducive to the consolidation and consequent greatness of the Empire. This is the chord which in the heart of England vibrates to the touch of true statesmanship, and many events have shown us how the mind of the humblest mechanic or the lowliest cottager is bent to the greatness of his country's rule. How, then, may a great and powerful statesman most easily and most safely put his hand to the work? Let Her Majesty be advised to send a gracious message through the Governors of her Colonies to their representative Parliaments, informing them of her desire to take such steps as shall lead to the securing the complete unity of her realms, and that for that purpose she enjoins her faithful Parliaments to accredit to her such representatives as may consult with the representatives elected in the United Kingdom, to form a High State Council, to deliberate and legislate upon all matters connected

with the general weal of the Empire. A measure of similar import to our Houses of Parliament would suffice to introduce the Bill upon which this great measure would be discussed and would take its base, and this great Bill, the work of the Imperial Parliament, and necessary (for we must not shrink from this view of the case) as handing over to a new body something of that which constitutionally belongs to them, would contain the whole scheme of allotment of representatives to England, fixing their numbers and their mode of election, and of the allotment of representatives to each of the Colonies and fixing their numbers, but leaving to them the mode of election. This Act thus emanating from Parliament would, with the Acts of the Colonial Parliaments, form the Constitution of the High State Council which, only to such extent as conceded by these Acts, would it have power to vary.

I ought, perhaps, to anticipate as an objection arguments which have shown themselves well founded in experience against government by one Chamber. I think that the High State Council of a Federation stands upon ground which raises it above the consideration of that necessity for a second consultative body which consists in the evil effect of precipitate measures. For the present, so long as England maintains in the Empire her great and preponderating power and position in population and wealth, her Parliament, and in her Colonies, especially the larger ones, their Parliaments, supply, in fact, the position of the more popular voice, from which alone we are accustomed to apprehend any risk of precipitate measures. It is said that in Congress the Senate represents State rights, the House of Representatives the people of the United States. Here, the High State Council which I shall propose will be a carefully-selected body of eminent persons, chosen by varying constituencies, the Bundesrath of the German Empire *plus* the popular confidence upon which the Reichstag takes its stand. Of how many members should this High State Council consist? There is required a sufficiently large number to ensure "discussion, deliberation, and diffusive sympathy;" and the number must not be so large as to throw too great a burden upon the Colonies, or to diminish the weight and worth of those who may be accredited as representatives.

A glance at the annexed table, and a remembrance of what I have lately mentioned of the basis of population upon which Federal representation has been allotted in the United States and in the German Empire, will prepare my hearers for the allocation which I am about to propose to them. For the figures, as selected from the Colonial Office List, I am indebted to Mr.

Herbert, whose valuable work in that office it is unnecessary for me to mention here. The year date is that of the Parliamentary return from which the figures are taken ; the table of the revenue expenditure, as Mr. Herbert informs me, is fairly correct, but cannot be considered perfect, as the revenue of a Colony often consists in great part of proceeds of sale and lease of public land, and it is difficult to say what proportion of the revenue is raised by taxation.

The population of the United Kingdom so far exceeds that of all her Colonies put together that it would be vain to suggest an allotment of representation according to equal electoral districts. The principle which justifies our present distribution of seats in the United Kingdom—viz., that interests and populations though small have a right to a distinct representative voice and a claim that their units shall not be swamped by an uncongenial majority—has eminently a place for consideration here, where there is so great a difference in the populations of the countries that may claim to be separately represented. The United Kingdom, in spite of what our Irish friends may urge, is, and ever will be, treated as a homogenous whole—her voice will be immediate and loudly heard upon all questions ; it is not necessary for her or just that the number of her representatives in the High State Council should stand in the same proportion to the population as that of the representatives of distant and less thickly-peopled Colonies, or even that these last should be represented upon the same principles of population one with another. The population of the United Kingdom, taking it in the year 1877, with which I have had the opportunity of contrasting the more rapidly increasing growth of the Colonies, was 33 millions ; the total population of the Colonies having responsible and representative Governments (and it is of those only I am now speaking) was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions. It is clear therefore that we could not, with any justice or hope of obtaining due benefit from the representatives of the Colonies in Council, allot representatives to England and the Colonies in equal proportion.

In the United Kingdom there would be a fair and sufficient representation in the High State Council by one member allotted to every million of its population, reckoning every excess of half a million as entitled to an additional member, and I do not recognise as separate any one of the three portions of the United Kingdom, but, beginning from the South I would bring together into one district, with some English southern counties, the Channel Islands, and passing north, take no cognisance of the severance of counties by the Tweed, and unite as one electoral district, if necessary, Cumberland, Ayrshire, County Down, Antrim,

THE RETURNS ARE FOR 1877, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE AGAINST WHICH THERE IS A FOOTNOTE.

No. of Members in the High State Council.		Area, Square Miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.	Imports.	Exports.
7	Canada .....		3,670,677	*4,411,854	*4,703,860	*34,935,166	†18,616,357	15,864,738
1	Newfoundland .....							
	Leeward Islands .....	453,610	117,992	96,322	101,816	50,450	431,499	520,599
	Jamaica .....	4,193	606,151	532,788	536,206	633,435	1,552,239	1,458,689
2	Bahamas .....	5,390	43,000 (estimated)	38,373	36,418	66,161	153,667	110,931
	Bermuda .....	194	12,121	30,353	26,513	11,484	279,800	74,981
	(Windward Islands .....	797	288,053	213,265	217,483	47,628	588,593	1,676,921
2	British Guiana .....							
	Trinidad .....							
3	Cape Colony proper .....	†199,950	†720,984	*2,931,692	*3,428,392	*0,919,068	*5,158,348	*3,634,073
2	Natal .....	18,760	290,055	272,473	283,823	1,231,700	1,167,402	689,817
1	Mauritius .....	713	348,625	748,069	703,608	771,612	2,369,449	4,201,286
2	Ceylon .....	24,702		1,596,205	1,437,266	872,645	5,885,964	5,730,050
1	The Straits Settlements .....	1,350						
	Labuan .....	45						
1	Hong Kong .....	29	139,144	189,526	182,104		2,870,796	1,174,469
3	N. S. Wales .....	310,937	662,212	5,748,245	4,627,979	11,724,419	14,606,594	13,125,819
2	Queensland .....	669,520	206,522	1,436,581	1,382,806	9,011,286	4,068,582	4,361,275
2	3. Australia, including Northern Territories .....	380,070	237,090	1,411,401	1,443,653	4,737,200	4,625,611	4,626,591
1	Tasmania .....	16,778,000	107,104	361,771	352,364	1,520,500	1,308,671	1,416,975
3	Victoria .....	88,198	867,634	4,604,415	4,634,448	17,082,065	16,362,706	15,157,687
1	W. Australia .....	1,057,250	27,938	165,412	182,959	161,000	362,706	373,351
3	New Zealand and Fiji .....	105,000	414,412	3,915,316	3,822,426	23,323,111	6,973,418	6,327,472

\* 1876-7. † 1875. ‡ 1877-8.



or Armagh, and the Isle of Man ; here at any rate let us show that all thought of difference of race or religion has passed away.

The population of the United Kingdom and her adjacent islands in 1877 was about 83½ millions. To them, therefore, are to be allotted thirty-three members in the High State Council.

In the Dominion, with a population of over 6½ millions, and with exports and imports of 84½ millions, it would be fair to allot seven members, which would give one member to each half million of her population.

Newfoundland must not be overlooked, and to her population of 146,000 I propose to allot one member.

Our Southern West Indian possessions, consisting of the Windward Islands with a population of 284,000, with British Guiana and Trinidad, as having each a control over their resources and partly representative institutions, may form a group to which I allot two members.

The Leeward Islands, with a population of 120,000, with which I would join Jamaica, the Bahamas, and that far distant independent little island, Bermuda, with its oldest representative constitution, are entitled to two members. And thus the number of representatives from our American Colonies would amount to twelve.

In Africa we have, in the Cape Colony proper, a population of 720,000, with imports and exports of a value of 11½ millions ; an allotment of one representative to every 190,000 of the population will give this Colony three members.

To Natal, including for present purposes the Transvaal, in consideration of the varied questions that may arise upon this border Colony, I think two members should be given.

Mauritius, with a population of 348,000, and with exports and imports amounting to 6½ millions, including the Seychelles and its other island dependencies, is entitled to two representatives.

This allotment of representation gives to our Colonies in Africa seven members.

In Asia, to Ceylon, with her large population of 2½ millions, exports and imports of 11½ millions, I give two members.

To the Straits Settlements, where public opinion is apt to make itself loudly heard, including Labuan, I give one representative.

To Hong Kong I also allot one representative.

This makes an allotment to our possessions in Asia of four members, and though at present this is the only representation which Asia will have in the High State Council of the British Empire, we must all look to a day, perhaps not far distant, when

that which might, under other circumstances, be the angry voice of mutiny, will be the conciliatory claim of union by those to whom we shall have taught its value.

And now we pass to the great territory of Australasia :—

For New South Wales, with a population of 662,000, and with exports and imports amounting to 27½ millions, I would propose three members.

For Queensland, with a population of 206,600, and with exports and imports of 8½ millions, two members.

For South Australia, with a population of 237,000, and exports and imports of 9½ millions, two members.

For Tasmania, with a population of 107,000, and a value of exports and imports of 2½ millions, one member.

For Victoria, with a population of 867,000, but exports and imports of the vast amount of 31½ millions, three members.

For Western Australia, with a population of 27,000, and exports and imports of barely three-quarters of a million, one member.

For New Zealand, with a population of 414,000, and with exports and imports of 18½ millions, three members.

I am aware that I have omitted our recent acquisition of Fiji. She may be content for the present to throw in her voice as sharing in the election of the New Zealand representatives. And thus the number of representatives for our Australasian Colonies would amount to fifteen. The High State Council would thus consist at present of thirty-three members for the United Kingdom, and of thirty-seven members from the Colonies, giving a total number of seventy, a number which I think would satisfy the requirements I have before alluded to. It will, perhaps, be objected that the Colonial overbalances the Home representation; that to the Colonies, with barely one-fourth of the population of the United Kingdom, there are allotted thirty-seven as against thirty-four representatives to the United Kingdom, including the President. If it could be supposed that upon any vital question the United Kingdom would stand obstinately on the one side with all her Colonies massed against her on the other, this might be a real difficulty; but if ever, through evil counsels, such a case should arise, it would need no majority in the Council on the one side or on the other to break up the Empire. It will not escape observation, however, that in this scheme every representative has his individual vote, and would, therefore, take his side in accordance with his own judgment.

I have said that while in the United Kingdom the choice of

members should be by popular election, I would leave it to the Legislatures of the Colonies each to say for itself in what way its representative or representatives should be selected, whether by the direct popular vote or indirectly by the Legislature, though probably the election would be by the Legislature, as it would be undesirable that a member elected by a dissolved Parliament should still remain the representative of the colony in the High State Council. The choice of representatives should not be limited, the hours of deliberation of such High Assembly need not to be such as to interfere with the discharge of other legislative, judicial, or other duties, and a place in this great Assembly should (excepting only the highest Personages in the realm) be open to all. It is, I should presume, hardly to be supposed that there would not be amongst the members thus elected from the United Kingdom or the Colonies, embracing, as this Assembly undoubtedly would, all those men the best known in connection with England's external relations, men who from either party in the State would now be selected for the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or at any rate for that of the Under Secretary, and it would be absolutely necessary that the Secretary or Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs should be a Member of the High State Council.

The Lord Chancellor is the constitutional adviser of the Crown upon all matters connected with the contracting or interpretation of treaties. He, therefore, most properly will occupy the position of President of the High State Council, and will take his seat *virtute officii*, the only official member, representing the Government of which he is a member, though there would not of course necessarily attach to that position any more than at present the position of First Minister of the Crown. Without seeking to compare the present occupier of that high office with any of his predecessors, I may, however, fairly I think, point to the great abilities of Lord Cairns as illustrating the weight that such a President of the High State Council would have upon its deliberations. It remains, with reference to this body, to consider what will be its work. The functions of the Legislature of the two great Federated Empires are here again our best guide.

By the constitution of the United States, Congress is authorised to provide for the common defence and general welfare, and for that purpose to levy and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excise, and to borrow money on the credit of the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations.

To declare war, and to define and punish offences against the law of nations.

To raise and maintain an army and navy.

To organise and arm the militia.

To give efficiency to all powers contained in the Constitution. The proper functions of a Federal Council may be taken also from the enumeration of the titles of the Standing Committees of the Bundesrath, viz. :—

1. Army and fortresses.
2. Navy.
3. Customs and duties.
4. Railways, ports, and telegraphs.
5. Justice.
6. Finance.

The question which has been so frequently raised in the House of Commons as to the right of the House to full information upon and discussion of commercial treaties before their ratification, here finds its answer, for while the functions of the High State Council would in no way interfere with the prerogative of the Crown with reference to other treaties, those obligations which have reference to matters within the province of the High State Council would require the assent of the Council before ratification.

To the High State Council there would properly belong the consideration of and legislation upon :—

1. Questions of domicile.
2. Customs' duties and taxes affecting trade between different parts of the Empire.
3. Weights and measures, coinage and issue of paper money.
4. Bank regulations.
5. Patents and copyright.
6. Questions effecting the mercantile marine.
7. Posts and telegraphs.
8. Law process and execution of judgments.
9. Civil procedure.
10. Military and naval organisation.
11. Quarantine and sanitary precautions as regards animals, and as ancillary to most of these.
12. Consideration of an Imperial budget and of the sums to be provided proportionately by each part of the Empire for these purposes.

Such being the members of this body, and such its work, it would be necessary, having regard to the subject matter of its deliberation, to give to it a permanence greater than that attaching to Parliament.

The High State Council should never be dissolved nor prorogued; but one-third of the members representing the United Kingdom and the Dominion, and those Colonies returning three members or more, and of the other Colonies one member, should vacate their seats every two years; the rotation would in the first instance have to be decided by ballot.

This would give a constant appeal to the constituencies, necessitating the re-election of every member in six years, while it would keep up at the same time an unbroken unity of the body and a traditional policy. The Council should have power to adjourn for so long a time, not exceeding three months, as might be compatible with discharge of business, but be liable to be called together at any time during an adjournment by the President as advising the Crown, or upon request to him by one-third of its members. The High State Council would have full powers to make regulations for the transaction of its business, for the investigation of elections of its members, and for their protection, and for the publication of its debates.

I have not included in my scheme any representation of India or generally of the Crown Colonies, or other possessions not having responsible or representative governments. The very fact that they are unrepresented removes them at present from our consideration. Whether they or any of them should have a more direct voice in their own government, and if so to what extent, is beyond the range of my present subject. And now we have thus provided for the meeting of the High State Council, let me consider an objection of old standing that the result of this is an *imperium in imperio*, an incompatible dual existence of Parliament and the High State Council. But experience has shown that no such insuperable difficulty arises in the Government of the United States or as the result of our legislation in the Dominion, and the problem has been recently worked out in Germany under much greater difficulties of independent and self-asserting monarchies, though it may be true that in this last case the strain of these difficulties has been eased off by that which we sincerely hope may not operate here, viz. a great war. Let us take this step in the day of peace, and, if war must come, we shall be prepared and strong. I have not for a moment denied that the result of this must necessarily be to remove from our present Parliament some of its most important powers; this is the case to a certain extent. There will be a higher authority than Parliament on those questions which I have tabulated as of the proper functions of the High State Council; but, on the other hand, the House of Commons as holding the purse strings of the nation would have the same

control over the High State Council as it has now over the executive, and inasmuch as both the Lord Chancellor and the Foreign Secretary would be equally members of the ministry, an adverse vote in the House of Commons would have the same effect for a change of policy as it has at present. But it will be asked, how is a Colony to be dealt with where legislature should refuse to comply with the vote of the High State Council? This is the difficult question which arises in every federation. It was dealt with in the United States in a manner from which we should shrink; it was met in the Germanic Federation by an execution of the Diet; in the Amphictyonic Council the oath by the members bound them to punish the disobedient "with foot and hand and by any means in our power." I do not believe that in these earlier days of federation, in the hands of a politic ministry, any such question would arise, and I have said that I am not now proposing a permanent and unchangeable constitution. The early American Federal Constitution of 1776 has, as I have said, developed into its present more perfect condition, the Germanic Diet has grown into the German Empire, while the Amphictyonic Council was swamped by a neighbouring despot, from which fate the Helvetic Union but narrowly escaped. So in the days to come, this High State Council may be looked back upon in much the same light as that in which we regard the mixed Wittenagemote of our forefathers; a more perfect division of duties will be allotted to separate chambers, which will not have superseded this High State Council, but will be rather its natural growth and outcome, and which will then be in itself to the fullest extent of the term "an Empire's Parliament."

A few words should be said perhaps upon the difficulty that may be thought to arise from the distance of our Colonies, and the expense of Colonial representatives attending the sitting of a Council here. This difficulty sat lightly upon the Commissioners appointed to consider the plans of union of the American Provinces in 1754. After pointing out that some members might do the journey in two or three days, and some, in summer, in a week, they add, "But if the whole journey be performed on horseback the most distant members, viz. the two from New Hampshire and South Carolina may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty days."

In England our ancestors certainly managed to get over the ground more quickly, for we find that daily pay being allowed to the knights and burgesses for their travelling days in the 1st Edward III. (1297) members from Cornwall, Westmoreland, and Cumberland were allowed seven days to do each journey, from

Devon, York, and Lancaster five days, while my predecessors from the midland counties were allowed only three; but as I find that in 3rd Edward II. Robert de Doulton and John de Perton, the knights from Staffordshire, were allowed 4s. per diem, and we remember that this 4s. really meant forty-eight silver pennies, each penny being a silver coin of about the size and weight of a modern sixpence, this 4s. represented a good handful of silver, and, considering the relative scarceness of that metal then and now, it represented a good round sum, and one that would place the cost of a member coming to Westminster from one of our distant counties, or, after the Scotch Union, from one of its northern shires, almost on a par as to fatigue and expense with a journey at present from Halifax or the Cape. And when the completion of a second inter-oceanic canal has perfected our ocean highway, to what higher use could our public ships be put, or what better opportunity of judging of their capabilities will be afforded them, than when they bring from our distant Colonies the members chosen to assist in the government of the Empire of whose power those vessels are the bulwark?

It should be left to the Legislatures of the Colonies to furnish such means by way of salary to their members as they may think fit. As salary to the senators and representatives in the Congress there is an allowance of a sum equal to £1,000 per annum, with their travelling expenses. While such expense would not seem to be at all too heavy a burden for any Colony, it may well be that even this would in a great majority of cases be unnecessary. And for English members certainly no such payment would be required. But while we speak of distance, we must not forget that the telegraph will place in the reading-room at Victoria, Ontario, and Auckland, information and details of debate and events and of any special circumstance of emergency, as quickly as in Liverpool or Birmingham, and that, under these circumstances, even the temporary absence of a representative from a distant Colony would not affect any important division; for his transmitted opinion, if of crucial importance, would scarcely be considered with less interest or less weight attached to it than there would be to his actual present vote, and in the same way would the views of distant Legislatures be capable of ready appreciation, and their views be faithfully rendered by their representatives, in the High State Council.

And now, with this mere sketch in outline, I have occupied all the time which I could fairly, and I fear more than I might justly, claim. Other lecturers at this your Institution have told to us their histories of excursions into lands occupied by older families of man,

and have endeavoured to instruct us in what way we may utilise, to the increasing wants of civilisation, their products and their skill. My duty to-night has not been unlike theirs ; it has not been for me to create or to originate. I have passed into the pages of history, and have searched out those products of governments in which, with a view to our present requirements, we may venture with advantage. Our present Constitution has been to the world the guiding star of a well-ordered freedom ; it has been, however, a constitution of development, of a nature, which, though it frets not on the bit, will not brook a sluggish inaction. As the Empire has increased in its limits and its powers, the Constitution has in itself enlarged proportionately with those wider limits, and so must it go on ; the smaller boundary of our English counties united to herself Scotland, and holds Ireland in an equally sisterly, though firm embrace ; but with each of these extensions there has been a parliamentary growth ; and now, when our Colonies come into our Union, though a change perhaps somewhat greater may be required, it will not in substance vary the old framework of our British constitutional monarchy.

To those who deprecate all wars, I would point out that this federation is the best, if not the only guarantee of peace. In the days of the Roman empire, the doors of Janus were first shut when she became the mistress of the world. Let the federated British Empire order peace, and stand prepared to enforce that command, and the hand of attack would be stayed ; and fear not that her commands would only issue in the instinct of selfishness ; her work will then be too universal for selfishness to have a place, for the interest of herself will then be the interest of mankind.

I have said that the interest of this united Empire would be the interest of mankind. It is true that in this High State Council chamber of our English-speaking race there would be one empty bench, one seat to which how warmly would be welcomed a long row of men of brilliant thought and strong character, well qualified to take high place in our assembly. Had words of wisdom prevailed some hundred years ago they had now been with us, but the secession of the free Colonies of America has taught us the bitter lesson of the effect of postponing a complete union upon the basis of a full and free equality between the mother-country and her Colonies. An opportunity which in the nature of things can never occur again has given to the energy of the sons of England the opportunity of which they have fully availed themselves in other lands to replace the loss. Let us now be wise by experience, and who may foretell the future ? It will not be in our time, it



may not be until days still far distant have come, and when some one may have disinterred from your archives the yellow mouldering sheets upon which these poor words of mine shall be written ; but I have full faith that the time will come when the United States shall join this Federation, unwilling to stand on one side as a separate empire, but, waving high the reminiscent emblem of her freedom, proudly take her seat as the successful adventurer returning to his home, in the greatest council which the world will have seen.

But it will be said, will not the result of all this be virtually to depose England ? Will not this country sink to the footing of an insignificant, or at best a less important, member of the Empire ? I do not think so. The natural position of these islands as flanking the great Powers of Europe, the port and out-post on the west, the Byzantium between the continent of Europe and Asia on the one hand, and of America on the other, this valuable position, coupled with her high residential value, not measured simply by her food-producing powers, her practically unlimited stores of coal and iron, the bone and sinew of her power, will long maintain England as metropolis of the Empire ; and when, as happens in all earthly things, the day of change shall come to her, and either from climatic or other causes the seat of Empire may be removed to another land, probably in a Southern sphere, her Empire will still remain, and England will still occupy the proudest place in the annals of humanity, will still be turned to by her children almost as the *Kebla* of their devotions, will ever be regarded by them as the cradle of our Empire race, nurse of our mighty Bund.

#### DISCUSSION.

Colonel ARBUTHNOT, M.P. : My Lord Duke, ladies and gentlemen,—Since I have been here to-night the honour has been done me of being requested to say a few words at the commencement of the discussion which is likely to take place upon the able and interesting lecture we have just heard from the honourable and learned gentleman. I acceded to the request with great diffidence indeed, because I was painfully aware that there are many others present who are far more capable of interesting you both from their knowledge and ability than I can possibly be. Now I am sure everybody here present will agree with me in two matters : first, in gratitude to my honourable and learned friend for the lecture he has favoured us with, and, secondly, in acknowledging the magnitude, the difficulty, and the importance of the question relative to

which his lecture has referred. That importance, as he has so well pointed out, is one which is increasing rapidly every day; but if the importance of it is increasing rapidly, I think I may also say the difficulties are proportionately diminishing. Nobody can doubt for one moment who reflects at all, that when our Colonies are fully populated, and when their trade and commerce are increased, as indeed they are increasing by most rapid strides every day, if the mother-country is to retain the position she now holds as the leading country of the world, some steps must be taken to meet the changed circumstances of her Colonies, and I think we shall be very wise people if we take those steps in time. (Hear, hear.) Having said this much, I hope my honourable friend will not think I am inclined to cavil, or that I shall seem at all wanting in appreciation of the great service he has rendered, if I venture to say that the chief value of his lecture, as it appears to me (which I have not had the pleasure of seeing till I followed it as it was read), is not so much in the scheme he has proposed as in the fact that anything that is written or spoken that draws attention to this important question must be of very great value. (Hear, hear.) Time will not allow (and, in fact, it would be presumptuous for me to do so, having only heard the lecture read, and not having had an opportunity of studying it) to comment very fully upon it; but there are many matters in it which I should like to discuss with the lecturer. There is one point, however, which I cannot help asking his permission to refer to for a moment. I observe he places the question as to naval and military matters as one of the last which would come under the cognizance of this Federal Council, whereas the Germans, I observe, place these subjects first. The Germans have no navy, and very little commerce. (No, no.) At all events, their navy is comparatively small, and certainly they have little commerce in comparison with British and Colonial commerce; therefore, I thought that naval and military matters would have been the first consideration that should have come under the notice of this Council. I am not speaking of land and Home defence. That, I think, might fairly be settled by each component part of the Empire; but I am referring more particularly to the protection of commerce, and I think that is really an important subject for consideration, and the first step that should be taken in carrying out the great scheme which has been propounded. However, I will not say any more about that. It is perhaps rather a hobby of mine, and I will only conclude these few crude remarks by saying that we think we have good reason to believe that the Imperial Government at Home are fully alive to the importance of the subject, and will do

everything in their power which may tend to promote the consolidation of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM MILLER: My Lord Duke, ladies and gentlemen,—We are very much obliged to Mr. Staveley Hill for the eloquent lecture which he has given us, although I must say that to me it has very much the air of an after-dinner speech. There is, however, an absolute necessity that we should arrive ere long at something like definite ideas as to the state of our Empire; for our Colonies have taken up such a position regarding our trade, that commercial intercourse with our most important, our oldest Colony, for instance, instead of increasing, is diminishing. Canada, indeed, though forming so large a portion of our Colonial population as quite one-half of the whole, only takes five or six millions of our exports; while Australia, with but half her population, still takes nearly twenty millions. To what is this owing but the fact that we have allowed our greatest Colony, our oldest Colony, to entirely withdraw herself from our control? (Hear, hear.) Nay, unless, without any delay, we take measures for bringing her really within the circle of the Empire, she may even now be taking steps for withdrawing herself entirely from our midst. (No, no.) I am perfectly aware that the Government of Canada—at all events several of its members, and its most prominent members—are extremely anxious that the Empire should be consolidated, and this cry of consolidation I welcome with all my heart; but, at the same time, we must bring this great question within the range of practical politics. A very short time ago I had a conversation with perhaps the most experienced and most trusted permanent official of the Empire, and I put the whole matter before him, insisting that things were arrived at such a pass that we really must give up talking and take to action; but he at once said, “There is not a single man in public life now who has any idea or expectation of obtaining office that would talk about this matter except in an after-dinner speech style;” and if any of you, gentlemen, can point to one single statesman who has dared to take up this matter in anything but an after-dinner speech, I, for one, shall be glad if you will name him. I challenge you to name a single statesman who has done otherwise.

SEVERAL VOICES: Mr. Forster.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Forster has certainly gone further than anybody else. (Hear, hear.)

A VOICE: He is extravagant.

Mr. MILLER: But Mr. Forster had better keep to the text, for I can tell you that after Mr. Forster made one of those speeches which you all seem to welcome as a sort of epoch in the history of our

country, a member of the Cabinet to which Mr. Forster belonged, when I said to him, "Don't you see Mr. Forster is coming round to my idea?" said, "Oh, we had a good laugh at Mr. Forster's dream;" and so, my Lord Duke, I think it is really time that, instead of talking about High Councils and things of that kind, we came right down to the marrow of the thing. We have a Parliament in England which is the oldest and most illustrious representative body in the world. Why should we in constituting the Empire's Parliament give up that Parliament? Why should we seek to eliminate the intrinsic reality of its great history, or overshadow it with something like that nonentity which Mr. Hill has proposed, a luckless shade apparently of the Venetian Grand Council? What do you suppose is the real reason why our most prominent Colonial politicians wish for this consolidation of the Empire? Is it not that they may be able to share in the honour and responsibilities, and in the emoluments of office? (Hear, hear.) What prevents the Empire being consolidated? Is it not the selfishness of the politicians of this country? (No, no.) I tell you it is so. (Laughter) They tell me so themselves. (Renewed laughter.) I have followed up this matter for over twenty years now in London. Some ten years ago, I had letters from my old friend, the late Hon. Joseph Howe, then Secretary of State for Canada. Still Mr. Howe was one of those people who dreamt of this consolidation. (Hear, hear.) Now what did he say? He was sick, as he had told me in 1867, of the politicians of this country and their shilly-shallying, and in 1870 he wrote: "I have long seen that the Empire was going to pieces, and I have no faith in the remedies that will be proposed in England. When Englishmen within the narrow seas consent to share power and the responsibilities and duties of Empire with Englishmen outside, we can hold the whole together and defy the world; but they won't do that, and I care very little what else they do." Let me appeal to my Lord Duke, as one of our highest statesmen, to take the question into your consideration, and to impress upon those statesmen with whom you come in contact that this is not a matter merely for after-dinner speech, that actually if we go on much longer talking, the people of this country will take the matter into their own hands and insist upon our Government doing something that really will consolidate the Empire, for we see our eldest daughter, the United States, going ahead and so completely getting beyond us (while practical politicians like Mr. Bright, Mr. Forster, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Derby admit naively, it is hardly worth our while to try and compete with her, as if we had indeed quietly to let her go a-head, and out-distance us in everything), that before

we can talk ourselves into an Imperial confederation of no more than thirty or forty millions of Britons, the United States will co-operate themselves into a Republican federation of a hundred millions of Americans.

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB: My Lord Duke and ladies and gentlemen,—In discussing this scheme I confess I feel the utter impossibility of considering the machinery for governing the greatest of empires in ten minutes; but, if you will be patient enough to listen to me for the allotted time, I shall be glad to say a few words, though I confess I cannot get farther than the title of the paper. The title of the paper is “An Empire's Parliament,” and the first question that arises is this—have we got one now? I do not think that question can fairly be answered without approaching it entirely from an outside point of view—from the view others would take from outside of the British Empire—as to what it is, and what its future is likely to be. I will confess to you my own idea of the constitution of what I will call the Empire's Parliament of to-day, by telling you a very brief story and then applying it. I heard an account the other day that, in a certain part of Ireland, one of the numerous press correspondents came investigating the state of affairs, and having travelled in a part of the country where great distress prevailed, he came to another part which was in a somewhat better condition, and he said to one farmer, whom he met while looking for information, at all events, he thought they were better off there, they had all resident proprietors, they had no absentees; upon which the intelligent farmer said, “Absentees! why, the country is teeming with them.” (Laughter.) Well, that is the only illustration I can give you of my impression of the constitution of the present Parliament. Following that idea and looking at it from an outside point of view, I will endeavour to give you what I believe to be the idea that might be entertained by somebody outside altogether. I believe we are to be honoured by a visit from the Emperor of Japan. Probably before he comes here he will read something about our great Empire, and that one of the principles of its constitution is, that representation and taxation go together. Well, the first part of the Empire he will touch will be Hong Kong. He will there find it all very nice, no doubt, and he will ask, “I suppose you have representatives?” “No.” “You have no taxation?” “Yes.” “Do you mean you have Imperial taxation?” “Yes, Hong Kong pays an Imperial contribution. We settle it for her, and she pays it, but she has no Imperial representation.” He says, “This is very odd.” Then he goes to the Straits Settlements. He finds the same thing there. He passes on to Ceylon, and he

finds the same state of things there. Then he would pass by India and come to Aden. At Aden he will find that they certainly have no Imperial taxation, but the Imperial expenses are borne by the people of India. He will then come to Malta, where he will find the same thing, taxation for Imperial purposes without Imperial representation. Now I should like parenthetically to say I want to know, if Mr. Hill will be kind enough to say, why he includes Hong Kong in his scheme of Imperial representation with a population of 121,000, and excludes Malta, which has the far greater population of 150,000? Now the Mikado would find that all along the road throughout the British Empire, British people are contributing towards Imperial expenses, and yet they have no Imperial representation. Then he would be very naturally anxious to see this Empire's Parliament, and he would go there. He will see eminent men of this country, he will find out that our Empire is great, and although we say we do not tax for Imperial purposes unless we have Imperial representation, he will find that is not the case. He will ask who our great men are, and he will be shown them. He will be pointed one who has recently expressed the conviction that the further off people are from the seat of government the more representatives they should have in the Imperial Parliament. The Mikado would naturally conclude therefore that Australia and Canada being a long way off must have a great many representatives, but he would find they have none at all. He would then probably see another great man, who thinks it would be a good thing to annex the United Kingdom to the United States. He must be an Imperialist, for he knows when the Southern States asked for disintegration the North gave them in answer a bloody war. But when the Mikado sums up the description of what he saw of the Empire's Parliament, he may well be pardoned if he declares that it is teeming with the absentee representatives of British interests in three quarters of the world. There are three points I should like to see thoroughly thrashed out; but time will not allow me to make full remarks. One is the necessity of our Empire's Parliament with regard to the interests of peace; secondly, with regard to the necessities of war; and, thirdly, its relation to local interests. With regard to the interests of peace, I must confess that I think that in the United Kingdom, when we remember that naturally the question of peace or war is one which plunges this country into a state of excitement, I say it is a dangerous thing if, by an overcrowded community more liable to excitement, for that very reason, the rest of the Empire is to be dragged into war or a dishonourable peace by its sole vote, without a single voice for or against it being heard from the Colonies. I cannot go back

for the past few years without seeing signs of popular excitement in this over-crowded community, very likely influenced first of all by that sort of unreasoning action which takes place on the cry of fire in an overcrowded theatre, and without thinking that constituencies in other parts of the world would not be so likely to take hasty action in so grave a matter. With regard to the necessities of war I would say this—having studied the defence of the Empire for fifteen years, I believe the real solution of that question is an absolute impossibility unless you have an Empire's Parliament. With regard to local interests and the influence of an Empire's Parliament on local interests, I would wish to say that I think, speaking with reference to that part of our Empire, or that fragment of it in which I am most interested, in respect of its local interests it would be an inestimable local benefit were the Parliament the Empire's Parliament instead of merely that of the United Kingdom. I am so interested in the peace and prosperity of that country, I feel that the fact that her representatives are only meeting the representatives of the sister kingdom of course as equals, gives them and gives that country an idea of supreme Imperial importance which does not rightly belong to her. I am of opinion that it would be an inestimable benefit as an educational process for that part of the Empire of which I speak, if her representatives were brought into closer contact with the representatives of larger interests and portions of our Empire. If you will bear with me one minute more, I may say for that fragment of the Empire in which I am interested, and which I believe is only the 240th part of the Empire, that this fact cannot be too often brought directly forward. There is a good old saw, "Take care of the pennies, and the pounds will take care of themselves;" but I must say that great injury has been done by giving us an Imperial position of importance to which we are not justly entitled, and that we are taking up nearly all Imperial time in looking after the one penny to the neglect of the other 239. I, for one, do not believe that an Empire's Parliament would ever spring from a single mind, or even from the thoughts of a single generation; it is too complex a matter. I would now congratulate the Institute upon the able paper we have had to-night, for I believe it is a most valuable contribution as part of an educational process, and that the discussion of this question must help to turn men's minds to the importance of this question; and, I believe, whether we are Scotch, Irish, Victorians, Canadians, or New Zealanders, if we take a broader view of the common interests at stake, we shall be more likely to pursue a straight course, and one which will be better for each one of us, towards true Imperial progress,

and I do not think so many will then wish to play nasty little games of Victorian dead-lock or Irish Home Rule in the gutters of provincialism.

MR. HYDE CLARKE : My Lord, I have taken so much interest in this matter that I had myself prepared a paper on some portions of this subject. I am very glad, and I have no doubt that many here must be also, that the subject has been so ably and so eloquently treated by the honourable and learned gentleman who has addressed us. It may be more convenient if in the few remarks which I am entitled to make I refer rather to the historical aspect of the question. Mr. Hill himself has done so, and it is in the historical elements that we must find our experience. To myself it seems that confederation lies at the very foundation of English society. We came into this island with many confederations of tribes ; we made larger confederations of Middle Saxons and West Saxons, of North Folk and South Folk, until at last we came to that stage that we found it necessary to have one chief magistrate, whom we know in history as the Britwalda, the ruler of Britain. That was the stage of confederation and empire which we reached above one thousand years ago, and it has been followed persistently ; for if you take up the history of the subject, you will find under the Plantagenets the effort was made to unite England, Wales, and Scotland, and also to unite Ireland. Without entering into other details, let us come to that period of our history under the Commonwealth, which, I think, would have presented to Mr. Hill another example of confederation in addition to those with which he has favoured us in the Seven United Provinces, the South Federation, and the Holy Roman Empire. I mean the period of the Commonwealth, because we then had a real confederation in the Parliament which sat at Westminster, with representatives from Scotland and from Ireland, above half a century before the ultimate union which took place with Scotland and a century and a half before the ultimate union with Ireland. We had there an example of union, which from circumstances was delayed and postponed, but of which we should never forget the experience. There was, however, another feature in connection with that. The great statesmen of the Commonwealth, to whom England is so much indebted for her greatness, just in the same way as they laid for us the foundation and the example of that union by which we now profit, laid likewise the foundation of a plan which they were unable to carry out, of having a representation in the Parliament here from New England and from Virginia. Therefore, the idea is not so unfamiliar in history ; it is not so new. It is one that, if we look at



it carefully in its historical aspect, we shall see has roots reaching down deeper and deeper, and that is the confidence that we must feel, that however unfamiliar the subject may appear to some of us in the aspect in which the honourable and learned gentleman has presented it to us, it is one which is practical, it is one which is congenial to ourselves and to our natural instincts. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Hill has particularly referred to that which must be the result of any such confederation of the whole English-speaking communities—a confederation which will be more effectual in the extinction of differences of race than even the temporary expedient which he has proposed. I should say that the statesmen of the Commonwealth in their wide ideas of confederation had likewise contemplated a confederation of the seven united provinces of Holland and Friesland, a people so nearly connected with us in blood. Having made these remarks upon the general subject, I shall by no means attempt to bring forward another plan than the one which has been brought before us. Mr. Hill, in his plan, has given us a sketch, not merely for the purpose of discussion at the present moment, but for our maturer consideration, that we may get into our minds this subject, and so be able to offer to him and to others pursuing the subject such suggestions as will enable them to put it into practical realisation, and, as one honourable gentleman who has just spoken has said, to influence statesmen to lay it before Parliament, in order that it may obtain adequate consideration there. There are two great portions of the subject. One is the simple question—the Parliamentary question, if I may so term it—the one in which the representation comes as the most prominent feature; and the other portion is the real material interests of the Empire, upon which the financial arrangements will afterwards have to be made. The honourable and learned gentleman has expressly set aside on the present occasion India and the Crown Colonies, and he considered he had good reason for it. If, however, a closer union were formed, not simply, say, between the exchequer of this country and of India, and if that were strengthened by union with the Crown Colonies, we should then have something to offer to the representative Colonies which would very probably be an inducement on their part to desire and to take further action. The subject, my lord, is so wide, and there are so many whom I see here of my friends who have considered this subject maturely for years, that I should feel as if I were trespassing unduly on the indulgence you have accorded to me if I were further to prolong my remarks. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. TRELAWNY SAUNDERS: I must congratulate this Institute on having at length entered upon the discussion of the practical mode

of dealing with Colonial union. I cannot congratulate it on the particular instance before us this evening, for there is hardly a fundamental point in the paper with which I can agree. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) One would suppose that the first consideration of a practical politician in a question affecting the organisation of a whole monarchy would have been to have eliminated the scattered elements that are of a like and kindred nature. For instance, there are just nine Colonies which have attained to Parliamentary representation, with responsible Ministries, and no more. Now I ask what steps should be taken to unite those nine Colonies with the mother-country? By their own energies have their own local affairs been placed on a Parliamentary basis with responsible Ministries? How are we to be united with them? and what stands in the way? There is one thing that stands in the way, and one only, and that is, the constitution of the present Imperial Parliament. Of the ten Parliamentary divisions of the monarchy, the Imperial Parliament alone differs from all the rest; for it is not only a Parliament for local purposes like all the rest, but it is a Parliament for Imperial purposes also. It has been frequently suggested that Colonial representatives should be sent to the present Imperial Parliament; but that suggestion has been met by the answer that Parliament, as at present constituted, is unequal to the work it has to do already. If Parliament as at present constituted requires to be reformed and altered, to enable it to attend to the local affairs of the three kingdoms, how much more then does it require to be re-constituted in order to give that attention which is necessary to the safety and the commerce not only of this country, but of the Parliamentary Colonies also? I use the word safety, for I tell you that we are living with the sword of Damocles hanging over our heads. (Laughter.) It is no laughing matter, I assure you. (Renewed laughter.) I ask the gentleman who laughs, before he laughs again at that idea, to read Captain Colomb's new book, on the "Defence of Great and Greater Britain," in which this danger is exposed. I say you are not safe for a meal's meat. You might, by the interruption of the traffic of your food-ships—by the seizure of one single food-ship—experience a tremendous advance in the price of food throughout this country. The question of the union of the Colonies with the mother-country, for our own safety as well as theirs, is the most important and essential subject we can possibly entertain. What, then, ought to be done in order to bring about an absolute union of the Parliamentary Colonies with the mother-country—of those Colonies which have shown themselves worthy sons of the mother-country, and have shown that they can manage

their own local affairs as well as we can ourselves? I say we have one course to take; a course which is in harmony with English legislation hitherto; a course which, so far as it abstracts anything from the present Parliament of the United Kingdom, abstracts it so as to bring the United Kingdom into harmony with all our other local parliaments throughout our Colonies. I say distinctly, and no statesman would fail to agree with me when I say, that anything in the way of a Star Chamber or a single Chamber is wholly foreign to our instincts—I say that nothing less than two Chambers will satisfy the wants and the expectations of the constituencies that are already governed, in respect of their local affairs, by double Chambers. It is impossible in the time allotted to me to go into the question of single and double Chambers, but experience has decided in favour of two Chambers. If, as the lecturer admits, we shall come to that point, why should we not come to it at once? It is much more difficult to retrace a false step than to make a new one in the right direction. To meet practically the difficulty of bringing about a union of the British Isles with the Colonies in which both the interests of the mother-country and the Colonies shall be alike represented, it will be necessary to separate from the present Imperial Parliament all those matters that relate to the general affairs of the Empire, in which the Colonies as well as ourselves are concerned—(hear, hear); and you must create a supreme Parliament of two Houses, for that purpose, in which the Colonies and the mother-country shall be represented *pro rata* according to population and rateable value. (Hear, hear.) The Parliament of the United Kingdom should then attend to local affairs only, like all the Colonial Parliaments. That is a plain and simple proposition, harmonising the whole of our Parliamentary system in the Colonies and at home. Moreover, two supreme Chambers constituted for the general interests of the monarchy would enable our Colonies to participate in the administration and patronage of all the great services of the Crown, with the result of adding vastly to the power of the Monarchy. Fancy the moral force that would accrue to our navy, from the circumstance that our navy would be at home as much in Australia, or Nova Scotia, or Vancouver, as in England, so that she shall find in Australia or the Canadian Dominion, a means of refitting, or manning, and the homes of some officers and men as much there as in England. I say that of itself would add a moral force to this country that would be incalculable. The same remark applies also to the question of military defence. It would be impossible in ten minutes to take up all the points necessary to build up my argument. I have failed to persuade the Colonial

Institute to allow me to appear before you as a lecturer on this subject, and I am thankful for permission to enter into this discussion. I must be content, I suppose, with this humble position, as I am neither a Queen's Counsel nor a Member of Parliament. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

Mr. CORNELIUS WALFORD: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—On this question may I venture to offer a few remarks? I think I can throw some little light on it, as I have had opportunities for some years of discussing the questions of our Colonies with the statesmen of some of them, and I know how much interest they take in the matter. I know what a dream it has become with them, as it has with all our colonists who love the mother-country—this United Empire. But I say of all this as one may say of many dreams, it is at present but a dream, and, if you begin to analyse this as you have in practice analysed other pleasant dreams in your experience, you will find in the analysis difficulties staring you in the face. If there were time I could take up the points which the lecturer has so earnestly and enthusiastically made, and could show him how thoroughly impracticable they are. ("No, no," and "hear, hear.") Your enthusiastic Secretary will never hear a word against United Empire. I observe he now says "No, no," but I say the first real difficulty is a constitutional difficulty. You will have to amend the Constitution of this country, and to accomplish that will take more time than the lives of most of you. But let me suggest one way by which you can do a great deal towards what the honourable gentleman wishes you to do, and which I and many others wish you to do. It is this, that every year before the time our Parliament is to meet, the different Colonies should send over their own delegates, properly authorised and instructed, and that these should sit so many days a week, and should be ready at all times to advise our Colonial Ministers on all points of interest in connection with the Colonies, and be ready to give him suggestions on those practical points which continually arise. Then you begin to show the value of Colonial influence and knowledge, and in that way would impress the Ministry with that belief in the practical knowledge of the colonists, and would do some good; and, if the scheme were workable, the seed thus sown would grow, as other seed grows, into a large tree, under which the colonists might find very pleasant shelter; whereas if you want the large tree to be produced at once without the germinating process you will never get it at all, and the thing will remain as it began—a dream. This scheme of United Empire, so delightful to think of, will thus pass away as other dreams do, and leave a blank in the

place of a picture in your mind. I say in practice it has got to be begun in some such form as I have suggested, and then you will see it grow gradually, and you will feel that you have done some good work, and that you have done it in the right, because in an effective, manner. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTGARTH: This question, as most of our members are well aware, has taken up much attention; in fact, we have all but considered it to be the great and sole question of this Institute. We have had repeatedly the views of members of the Institute upon it, and they have endeavoured from time to time to take the useful course of putting their views into a practical shape. But when we consider how impracticable the subject has heretofore appeared, we may congratulate ourselves on the great amount of attention now given to it; and it affords me great pleasure, as it must do to most of you who are old members of the Institute, to see a distinguished Queen's Counsel and Member of Parliament take up the subject so ably as well as so earnestly. Now, I like to go back and compare notes of the progress of this question. The earlier members of the Institute may recollect the state of things when what is called the Cannon Street Meetings were held. What was the origin of those meetings about ten or twelve years ago? It was from the conviction of some that there was a lax feeling in this country, a lax feeling extending even to the Government, with regard to the Colonies, to the effect that the Colonies were only in a modified way a part of the Empire. We of Colonial connection at home certainly understood, and the many colonists understood who were coming and going, that if their respective Colonies were dissatisfied, they could walk out of the Empire. I do not know at that time that so much was ever distinctly said; there was sufficient loyalty in the Empire not to say it; but we must recollect that some such feeling was entertained at that time. Now that, together with some circumstances affecting New Zealand and the sudden withdrawing of the military which was endangering the Colony's good feeling, was the principal cause of the Cannon Street Meetings. But what progress have we made since then? I think that we have come to this, that neither on the part of the Government nor on the part of the people is there such a suggestion as that any part of the Empire should be allowed to slip away. If there is dissatisfaction amongst any section of the people we do not hold them to the Empire. They may indeed back out of the Empire, but no territory goes with them. I think, my Lord Duke, that is the state of feeling we have arrived at at the present time. As time presses, I would now ask at once, what ought to be done? I agree with my friend Mr. Miller that the lecture we have heard is

not quite practical, in the sense that there is no simple and practical mode put before us for a beginning. It is an aim at abstract perfection, and that is the fault I find with schemes of Federation. They bear to be talked about. They are in the abstract the most perfect, but work will never actually begin as long as projected in that revolutionary way. We must begin upon the old lines. That is my idea. I think our Institute is divided on this question into two sections, one of which is for jumping at once at abstract perfection, the other is for getting up gradually to it upon the old lines. A previous speaker said what is wanting, and all that is wanting is the removal of the defect in our Imperial constitution. Now there is something wanting before that can have a beginning. What we want is the Imperial Government to give up its silence upon this question. They have maintained silence too long—indeed, I may say it has been the business of the Government to keep silence, and not to declare itself. We know that the present Government is very strong-minded in its views as to the integrity of the Empire, whether the question related to a little *Mattacong* or the great *Cape Colony*, or *Australia*, or the *Dominion of Canada*; and we may infer that they are agreed that no part of the Empire shall even dream of such a thing as separation on any consideration whatever. (Hear, hear.) Now if that is the state of feeling, it shows us the necessity of altering that loose relationship by which our Colonies are now held. I have only time to point out what seems to me—who have considered the subject for many years and am much interested in it—the course to be taken. First of all, the Colonial Secretary should give up his silence, and should issue some call to action, in the form of an invitation not to the Colonies only, but to the whole Empire's public, to the effect that this great question has come practically before the Government, and that they are prepared to take action upon it. Then action ought to be commenced, and we ought to go upon the old lines. We cannot displace our historical Parliament, and place another new institution over its head. We shall never actually realise a beginning in that way. Fancy our august House of Lords actually at work over a measure to displace itself; and to set this Federal Council, or whatever you may call it, over its head! If you indulge in any dreams, as has been suggested, here truly is one. We shall never come to action in that way. What we must endeavour to do is to get the Imperial Government, through the Colonial Office, to invite the Colonies to come in and be represented in the Imperial Parliament. That may be done. We must get in the thin edge of the wedge first. That appears to me to be the proper course,

and it must be a matter of time to be carried out. We must first get the Colonial Office to act; and how loyally they feel, and how much influenced the colonists are by a word of invitation from the Colonial Office, I need not tell you. I think that has been illustrated in many ways which I have seen. I was interested the other day to see an instance of it. You may remember Dr. Forbes Watson and others interested themselves in establishing a grand Colonial Museum, and, to the astonishment of the parties who had taken so much trouble, the Colonies made little or no response. But one Colony mentioned [the reason. It was this—not that they would not discuss the question, but that they were not able to pay serious attention to it because it had not been recommended by the Home Government. (Hear, hear.) That is an instance; and I know myself, as an old colonist, the great influence that follows from any representation or expression of wishes or views made by the Home Government.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—I would apologise for intruding a few remarks on the present occasion, because, having been in one of the Colonies, and taken some part in the legislation and government for many years, I am afraid that may be considered an absolute disqualification for discussing this subject. I am reminded of an old saying, that you should never look a gift-horse in the mouth. Now, that is the first thing I should do, for how otherwise am I to judge of the munificence of my benefactor? Hearing this paper so fully discussed, there is one remark which I agree with, and that is the one made by Mr. Walford, that with respect to the paper, there is not a practical idea in it. It is impossible, in the few minutes allowed, for anyone to speak on a subject of this kind, and follow the arguments in the paper, or the facts or figures either. I cannot from this position see the figures as they appear in the paper which Mr. Hill has just put up there. I cannot see the big sheet, or see through it, but in the printed paper I have handed to me there appear some extraordinary errors. Perhaps that is accounted for by the fact that they are supplied by the Colonial Office. It does occasionally make out some remarkable figures, but I do not think it would be able to make the area of Tasmania 16,000,000 square miles. (Laughter.) However, that may be a typographical error.

Mr. A. S. HILL: 26,219 it is here; I have not had the pleasure of seeing that copy.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: Oh, it is a typographical error! An error in figures generally is either an error of the printers or the reporters. But here is another error which I certainly do not think can be

attributed to the printers, because Mr. Hill himself read the population of Canada as 6½ millions.

MR. A. S. HILL : 8,670,577.

A VOICE : It is 4,000,000.

MR. STRANGWAYS : However, I never allow figures to stand in the way of arguments I wish to adduce. Perhaps Mr. Hill has wisely adopted the same course, and has not allowed them to stand in the way of his argument or the goal he wishes to arrive at, and when he has found inconvenient figures standing in his way he has thrown off half a million or so at a time. (Laughter.) I note that he has included Ceylon in this Federal Council, with a population of over 2,000,000, and they are to have two representatives. Now the inhabitants are nearly all natives, and if the natives of Ceylon are to be represented in this great State Council, why not the natives of India also? If it is to be an Imperial Parliament—a Parliament of the Empire—no part of the Empire should be left out. Look at the Empire, take the whole population; go where you will, where will you find a population greater than the population which Mr. Hill has left out? That part of the Empire which Mr. Hill has left out has a population of more than 240,000,000 of people, and is one of the wealthiest and most thickly populated parts in the great Empire of England. There again I say Mr. Hill's idea of an Imperial Parliament is something like *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out, for one of the greatest parts of the Empire is omitted. (Laughter.) Well, gentlemen, among the principles that are alluded to here, each of them, both the mother-country and the Colony, would have to concede something to the other. I admit that. But, at the same time, erroneous views have been taken in this country that the Colonies must concede a great deal more than this country. But whichever way you take it, there must be concessions. In one respect these concessions will have to be far more by England, and in another respect they will be far more by the Colonies. There was one remark made by Mr. Miller to the effect that this permanent unity of the Empire would only be alluded to in an after-dinner speech, and several voices said, "Mr. Forster." I know the way in which Mr. Forster took up the question. He took up the Imperial view at the time when the Queen's Title Bill was before Parliament. He thought he could see that as an instrument for damaging his political opponents or benefiting his own party. As long as he thought he could do that he took up the question of Imperial unity, and Mr. Forster never came near this Institute from that time, until he was brought here on a special occasion the other day. Well, Mr. Miller was saying that this question was



only brought forward in after-dinner speeches. I should like the advocates of this or any of the great innovations, if they can, to name one person who either does hold or has held any prominent position in public in any of the Colonies who advocates at the present time these very close and intimate relations between the Colonies and the mother-country. I do not believe you will find one single man. The fact is, you will not have to look to *dilettante* philosophers, but you will have to look at the bearings of the question, and you will have to work out the details; and the difficulties in the way cannot be settled so easily as some of these philosophers appear to think. People say, if England goes to war, the Colonies will suffer, that commerce will be destroyed, their cities will be burnt down, and the property greatly injured or destroyed. But the Colonies know perfectly well a way out of that, and they know how to get rid of the connection which causes the danger; and, however much (I do not want to tread on the tail of any gentleman's coat) you may wish for a closer union with the Colonies, I say you must mark this fact, that native colonists, native-born colonists, are rapidly increasing in number, and that native-born colonists of Australia are beginning to outnumber those who are of European origin. There is the Colony of Victoria alone, in which, when you come to the figures, you will find that the native-born colonists are as five to four of those of European origin. I allude to a fact which no gentleman in this room who has been there does not know. They have an ambition, those native-born colonists have a laudable ambition. After reading the speeches of their debating societies, or those delivered by them in public, and all the exhortations given to them by those who are educating them, I say they have the ambition to make Australia a nation. (No, no.) They have. I challenge anyone now present in this room who has experience within the last twenty years to get up and contradict me. (Two gentlemen stood up.) I thought so. Up get two, Mr. Youl and Mr. Labilliere. Neither have been in the Colonies for twenty years.

MR. EDWARD CHAPMAN: I rise also. I have spent twenty-five years in the Colonies, and I say that my experience in the Colonies is totally opposite to yours.

MR. L. S. CHRISTIE: Here is another.

ANOTHER GENTLEMAN: And I say the feeling is rapidly dying out, if ever it had any existence; but I believe it never had existence; but, if it had, it is certainly dying out.

MR. STRANGWAYS: I should like to know what the point of difference is. (Laughter.)

**Mr. LABILLIERE :** It is a matter of fact.

**Mr. STRANGWAYS :** The point I challenged contradiction upon was that there was a large number of the rising generation in the Australian Colonies who did look forward to making Australia a nation. I am stating simply a matter within my own personal knowledge, and a matter bearing on the question which I have fully considered. There are a great number of matters that I should wish to allude to, but I am limited to ten minutes, and I will not go beyond that time. [The CHAIRMAN intimated that as Mr. Strangways had been interrupted he might go on.] There was one point which Mr. Hill brought forward which he may advantageously bring forward elsewhere. He says, in speaking of the manner in which ancient assemblies enforced obedience to their orders, they were bound to act with foot and hand upon the disobedient ones. Now, I suggest to Mr. Hill that that should be tried in the House of Commons on the Irish obstructives, and see what effect it has. There is another recommendation which might be followed with great advantage, and that is, that the Irish obstructives should vote by telegraph, so that their presence in the House would not be necessary at all. That is a matter I would recommend Mr. Hill to bring forward on Thursday next. I regret that the shortness of the time will not allow me to follow the paper throughout. I agree that it is highly desirable to maintain the integrity of this Empire. My only objection is in respect of the propositions brought forward, which I cannot see to be in any way practical.

**Mr. YOUL :** I wish to make this observation. I do agree that all Australians wish to make an Australian nation, but it is in community with the Empire. I thought that was the challenge you gave me. With that explanation I quite agree, so that I agree in part, but not in the whole.

**Mr. STRANGWAYS :** I never intended to convey the notion that the Australians wished to create a nation to be in hostility to the English nation.

**Mr. E. CHAPMAN, of Sydney :** My Lord Duke, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to confirm what has just been said by Mr. Youl with reference to the decided loyalty of the Colonies. I speak more especially in regard to New South Wales from my own personal experience, having resided in that Colony for the past twenty-five years and upwards. I pledge my testimony and honour that there is not a more loyal people in any part of the British Empire than those of New South Wales. I say it from an intimate, unbroken experience of that Colony from the year 1854. They are as loyal to the institutions of this Old Country as any people in this King-

dom; are as devoted and concerned about everything touching the wellbeing of England as the people of Yorkshire, Devonshire, or any other county. I do assure you that, next to their love of their own beautiful Colony, and their desire to develop it to its utmost natural limits, there is no feeling so strong and general as their devotion and loyalty to the old home and institutions of England. I could give you dozens of instances in proof of my assertion. Take the Patriotic Fund, for instance. Sir Daniel Cooper, a prominent colonist, subscribed £1,000 thereto, and a like amount annually so long as the Crimean War should last. And all the colonists, in large public meetings, passed resolutions in sympathy with England in that difficulty, and contributed large sums of money towards that fund. I may be permitted to allude to another matter in proof of my assertion. I mean when that unfortunate incident happened in a Colony, a member of the Royal Family was most cruelly shot at—within 200 yards of myself, in fact—the indignation of the people knew no bounds. The largest meetings I ever beheld of citizens were held in Sydney to express their horror at the dastardly act and their sympathy with His Royal Highness: there was not a township or hamlet even, throughout the Colony, which did not hold similar meetings, at which like unanimous resolutions were passed; it did my heart good at the time to see how that young British Lion in the Colony of New South Wales could roar and lash his tail in honest indignation at this most dastardly outrage. And by the way, the people then and there opened subscription lists to raise some lasting memorial, expressive of their gratitude for His Royal Highness's safe recovery; some £40,000, if I remember, were subscribed voluntarily by the citizens, and the Prince Alfred Hospital now recently erected to his honour is a noble tribute by the people of New South Wales in remembrance of that shocking outrage: by a miserable ruffian I may say, who followed the Prince to our Colony; he was not even a resident among us. Then again, just one other proof of the desire of the Colonies to be more intimately connected with the old country. The comparatively small Colony of South Australia, single-handed almost, conceived, and carried out the grand idea of carrying the electric telegraph from the extreme south of the Island, right through the arid and previously untrodden wastes of that continent, to the extreme north, a distance of some 1,800 miles, if I remember, through deserts in fact where no timber grew or was to be had, the iron poles as well as wire having to be imported and carried there for the purpose; a most spirited noble work of that most enterprising little Colony. Their object was not entirely or

solely a business one, but also a strong desire to unite themselves more closely and immediately to the mother-country. I do assure you that every resident in the Colony to which I have more especially alluded—New South Wales—speaks of England as home; and not only the adults, but their children, talk of it in the same almost affectionate manner, although the latter may be all Australians born in the Colony. I am cognisant of this, too, from my own personal experience; for I have nine of these Australians in my own family, all born in the Colony, who have always spoken of this country as their home, and do so to this very hour; the practice is quite general. I do assure you that any and everything affecting this old country, either for weal or woe, is immediately felt and sympathised with in the Colony. Just see at this very moment what noble contributions are being advised by telegraph from the Australian Colonies towards the distress in Ireland; and I'll answer for it, the contributions are not from those of Irish birth only, but from all sections of the Australian people. Nor is the cause for this generosity far to seek. The Colonies enrich the people of every grade and nationality. They can afford to be generous, and the people there always have been true to themselves and the grand old stock from whence they have sprung, and will be, if properly treated by the old country, this meeting may rest assured. We were challenged, my Lord Duke, by a previous speaker, Mr. Strangways, on the absence of any loyalty in the Colonies towards the institutions and people here, and that will, I hope, be my apology for breaking in somewhat abruptly upon your discussion. (Cheers.)

Mr. RICHARD RAMSDEN: May it please your Grace, ladies and gentlemen,—I will not detain you longer, if I may say a few words, than briefly to throw out a suggestion or two which I hoped would have been thrown out by better speakers than myself. I am very glad that we roused the British lion, and I think if all the Colonies show the spirit the gentleman who has just sat down has done, the union will be effected somehow, and no difficulty will prevent it. Still I feel, and everybody feels, both here and in the Colonies, that some union must be effected. But we must not squabble over details, and must not carp in an unkind spirit. That produces party feeling, and we see too much of party in the British House of Commons. It has been suggested that great difficulty would be experienced in having a representation of our Colonies in our British Houses of Parliament, as the Houses of Parliament are already overworked; but I think there is one of the Houses of Parliament that is not overworked. We hear of members going home at seven o'clock, having disposed of the business of the

House, and so on, and I think not once or twice, but very often in the year. In that House there are many gentlemen—noblemen who have held high positions in the Colonies as Governors, and so forth, and are perfectly capable of speaking of the Colonies. In fact, the representation of the Colonies at present in the Houses of Parliament is chiefly in the House of Lords, and I think that that being so already, it seems wiser to make the most of and improve what already exists in a small way. What is the system of the British Constitution? It is not, if I may say so, that of political constitution-mongering; but it is simply that of a gradually slow growth, very slow indeed, and the slower the growth the more likely it is to last. Therefore, if I may suggest such a thing, I think if one prominent man from the Colonies were called up one year, and perhaps two the next, three the next, and so on, and advocated Colonial subjects in the British Parliament, we should have Colonial representation, and representation in the oldest House of the two; we should be connecting our oldest history with our newest history. No country is so proud of its institutions as England, and none so proud of the associations of the old mother-country as the colonists. That, I think, would be the best way, gradually, to call up first one and then another, either with life peerages, or hereditary peerages; and in that way, I think, in time we should get a representation of the Colonies. Then, supposing something further were desired, we should have something to start upon. I beg your pardon for dealing with the matter so badly, but at this late period of the evening I thank you for your attention.

Mr. LABILLIERE: Will your Grace allow me to say a word with reference to what has fallen from Mr. Strangways? He has spoken about the disposition of the Colonial born. I think he asserted they were disposed to take up a hostile attitude towards the mother-country. (No.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I said nothing of the kind.

A VOICE: An independent attitude.

Mr. LABILLIERE: Well, an independent attitude with regard to the mother-country. I accept that explanation. It suits my purpose in what I am going to say quite as well. I heard a short time ago, in reference to a similar remark, this observation made, that wherever you find anything of that feeling in the Colonies it is not amongst the Colonial born, but amongst people who have only gone to the Colonies and been half a dozen years or so in them, like Mr. Strangways. (Laughter.) There is another inaccuracy in the speech of Mr. Strangways which I feel bound to correct. He told us that Mr. Forster, the eminent statesman, had only taken

up the question of the permanent unity of Empire, and used it for the purpose of endeavouring to embarrass his political opponents. Now I was one of those, when Mr. Miller said that no leading statesman had ever advocated Imperial unity or Confederation, who cried out "Mr. Forster," and I did not mean to refer to what Mr. Forster had said in connection with the Queen's title, but to Mr. Forster's famous address in Edinburgh, made a year or two before the question of the Queen's title ever arose. I shall not attempt to follow Mr. Strangways in his arguments. I think the best answer to his speech of this evening is to refer the audience to the previous transactions of this Institute, in which Mr. Strangways has uttered sentiments totally at variance with those which have fallen from him this evening. I shall not attempt at this late hour to enter into the question which has been brought before us by Mr. Hill. All I would now say is, when five years ago I had the honour to read a paper on the Permanent Unity of the Empire, suggesting Imperial Federation, I was told that I was a theorist, and that it was a question for consideration fifty years hence; but what has happened within the last five years has shown that it has been becoming every day more and more a practical question. I do not care how a beginning is made, so long as it is made—whether it is as Mr. Walford suggests, or as Mr. Hill suggests, when the ultimate goal at which we must arrive is a complete Federal Executive and a Parliament containing two houses of Legislature. And surely, if we are unable to organise such a confederation as that which constitutes the greatness of the German Empire or the greatness of the United States, our capacity to meet the requirements of our British Empire must be very limited. Our statesmen will have become extinct if we cannot devise some Parliament and some Executive which will keep this Empire together in permanent unity. Nothing can prevent this magnificent structure of Empire which we see rising around us from being permanently established but the want of some organised bonds of cohesion. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think, ladies and gentlemen, the time has now arrived for me to return your thanks to Mr. Staveley Hill for his very able paper. It certainly, as Mr. Westgarth said, is most satisfactory to the old members of this Institute that the question which gave birth to it should have been so ably brought forward and advocated as it has been to-night by Mr. Hill. I trust it may be an omen that after ten or eleven years' existence, we have risen to some importance, and that we may have some chance of attaining the object we have always had in view. Now Mr. Westgarth asked how this action was to be begun. I confess for myself I

should rather be in favour of what was said by another speaker, who suggested that the first effort should be for the Secretary of State to appoint a Council elected by the Colonies, to advise him on Imperial questions. But then the Secretary of State need not take their advice, unless the Colonies so sending them give them the power of furnishing money for Imperial purposes. If such a Council had the power of voting money, it would, in fact, be a Parliament, and have the powers of the House of Commons. Then I think that the English House of Commons would be glad to elect members to such a council to share in its deliberations. In that way the old House of Commons, which one speaker spoke of with so much respect and wished not to displace, would not be displaced, because it would be selecting some of its members as a portion of that other Council, acting almost as a Committee for Imperial purposes, which would be joined by members from the Colonies. In that way the House of Commons would not be displaced, and need not consider itself superseded. I am sure that any doubts on the point would be set aside by the feeling of its necessity for the safety of the Imperial interests and the power of the Empire which are involved in this question, as Captain Colomb so strongly put it. There is another point that Mr. Miller referred to. He said that Hon. Joseph Home put before him that it was impossible for colonists ever to be Ministers. They could never be Cabinet Ministers so long as the Government is as it is, as the Ministers at present must be taken from the existing Houses of Parliament, and the only hope for colonists to be ministers would be when they should be representatives in an Imperial Council in England, of which they have a right to be members, and would sit as colonists. Then they might be chosen and selected as Ministers for Imperial duties. I have now only to thank very warmly Mr. Hill for his extremely able paper, and to hope that he may have an opportunity of advocating it in the House which he so adorns. (Hear, hear, and long and continued applause.)

Mr. A. S. HILL: My Lord Duke, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am exceedingly obliged to you for the kind reception which you have given that which I have laid before you as a sketch, and which can scarcely claim the criticism due to a matured production. May I say one or two words in answer to some of the remarks that have been made? With regard to what fell from Captain Colomb as to my having included Kong Kong and not Malta, if he looks at the relative position of the two islands, I think he will see that an important distinction is to be drawn between them, looking at Hong Kong in its value to us as a commercial centre and Malta as

a naval and military outpost. With reference to Mr. Trelawny Saunders' remarks, I am sorry that he should lament that he is not at present a member of Parliament ; but, as a general election is so soon coming on, we may yet have the benefit of his powers. (Laughter.) As to his differing from me in every word I have said, I really, following all that he has put before us, could not see that he started one point upon which he and I are at variance. I venture to think he a little misunderstood my propositions, because, when he speaks about my putting forward a Star Chamber, he should remember that my proposition was that the members should be elected, therefore, my Parliament would have little of the Star Chamber in its composition ; and, when he says that what he wants is a body to consult upon defence, I venture to think that the whole of my proposition is to put forward a body which shall unitedly represent the British Empire especially for defence against any attack. Referring to what fell from Mr. Cornelius Walford, and which your noble chairman has endorsed, that we should begin with a Colonial Council at Westminster, when he says that I have not begun at the beginning, if he will recollect, I said, " Let Her Majesty be advised." By this I intend that with which all measures are initiated. Let it appear in Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne that her ministers advise her to take certain steps, and in consequence let a Bill be presented to Parliament in England, and in this way I did sketch out, I think, a scheme from the beginning. Now, whether it should begin with a council or not, although a council would assist the Colonial Secretary, it would not represent the Colonies ; and, if it were to advise the Secretary with regard taxation, it would be, in fact, taxation without representation. I still adhere to my own plan as being somewhat more of a real beginning. With reference to the remarks of Mr. Strangways, I have no doubt that he meant by his remarks to advance that which he thinks for the good of the Colonies. In criticising my figures as to the area of Tasmania and the population of Canada, he has been misled by a printer's error in an uncorrected proof. He will find the figures in my table correct. Mr. Strangways is right in this, that it is the wish and desire of the present Australian colonists to unite into an Empire ; but it is an Empire in union with, and not in hostility to the mother-country. My Lord Duke and ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much for the kind reception you have given to me. I can only hope it may bear fruit in one way or another in bringing about that which we all desire—the greatness of our country. (Long and continued cheers.)



## FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the "Pall Mall," Regent-street, S.W., on Tuesday, the 28rd March, 1880. In the absence of his Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P., Chairman of Council, Mr. JAMES A. YOULE, C.M.G., Member of Council, presided.

Amongst those present were the following :—

The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., K.C.M.G. (Governor of Bombay), Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart. ; Sir John Coode, Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B. ; Mr. A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Hon. C. Burney Young, M.L.C. (South Australia) ; Messrs. H. W. Freeland, Leslie J. Montefiore, Sidney Montefiore, Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G. ; F. A. Ducroz, the Hon. T. McIlwraith (Premier of Queensland), the Rev. C. F. Stovin, the Rev. P. P. Agnew (New South Wales), Dr. John Rae, Messrs. Sidney Hodges, George Wills, Stephen Bourne, John Templeton (Barbados), D. C. Da Costa (Barbados), J. Glyn, S. W. Silver, Alfred W. B. Clarke, G. Henriques, G. Molineux, J. G. Montefiore, Jacob Montefiore, Arthur Blakiston (Queensland), Major D. Erskine (South Africa), Mr. H. M. Whitehead, Dr. P. Sinclair Laing (Canada), Messrs. Samuel Deering, Assistant Agent-General (South Australia), John Pulker (South Australia), Spencer Chatterton, Charles Griffith, J. H. Butler, A. B. Morgan, J. Heilbek, the Rev. Brymer Belcher, Mr. H. J. B. Darby, Mrs. J. E. Hargrove, Mr. F. Woodall, Mr. J. B. Montefiore, Miss Marion Montefiore, Mrs. Klasen, Messrs. George Armytage (Victoria), Walter Joslin, A. Focking (Cape Colony), Henry Joslin (South Australia), Miss McEnany, Colonel W. F. Stephens (Victoria), Mr. John Balfour (Queensland), Mr. and Mrs. John Ashwood (Sierra Leone), Mr. H. St. George Wilkinson, Mr. George Tinline (South Australia), Miss Esther M. Tinline (South Australia), Messrs. J. Snell (South Australia), L. S. Christie (Melbourne), J. W. P. Jamalde, A. Jamalde, Mr. and Mrs. James Gilchrist (Sydney), Mr. and Mrs. William Westgarth, Messrs. George Green (South Australia), James Bonwick, George Dibley, J. H. McKellar (Victoria), the Misses McKellar (Victoria), Messrs. W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), A. M. Lawrence, Thomas W. Rome, E. A. Wallace, F. P. Labilliere, Alexander Donaldson (South Australia), W. W. Rust, George Rawlinson, Henry Carter, John Travers (Victoria), J. A. Bayly, W. R. Mewburn, Leonard W. Thrupp (South Australia), C. D. Buckler, Thomas Hamilton, G. R. Fife (Queensland), Leonard Pelly, A. G. Ashby, Steuart S. Davis (West Indies), Alexander Rogers (late Bombay), W. T. Reeve, W. H. Burton (South Australia), S. Yardley, Dr. E. M. Stokes (New Zealand), Messrs. N. Nelson, Robert Garnham, J. V. Irwin, John Marshall, G. W. Beaver Blake, G. A. Tomkinson (South Australia), Ernest H. Gough, F. H. Dangar (New South Wales), S. Jeffery, Reginald Jennings, W. A. Wood (Melbourne), A. J. Wood (Melbourne), J. J. Synnot, Captain and Mrs. Corbett, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh A. Silver, Mr. and Mrs. Alex. Lawrence, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander (South Australia), Capt. F. W. S. Grant (32nd Light Infantry), Mr. H. B. T. Strangways (late

Premier, South Australia), Mr. W. G. Lardner, Mr. Charles Bethell, the Rev. A. Styleman Herring, B.A.; Messrs. Henry A. Shipster (South Australia), W. Manley, Wm. C. Manley, A. Slade, Mr. E. G. Barr and Miss Barr, Miss Templeton, Messrs. J. F. Vesey FitzGerald, Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.), W. J. Cracknell, J. Bruce, Wm. Agnew Pope, Miss Marshall, Miss Bird, Miss Hosegood, and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Gill (South Australia).

The Minutes of the Fourth Ordinary General Meeting were read by the HONORARY SECRETARY, and confirmed; Mr. Young also announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen have been elected:—

As Resident Fellows:—

Henry A. de Colyar, Esq., G. W. Des Vaux, Esq., C.M.G., late Administrator of Fiji; P. Hamilton, Esq., W. C. C. Park, Esq., John de Poix Tyrel, Esq., John Whitwell, Esq., M.P.

As Non-Resident fellows:—

Sayyid Kasan Ali, India; Colin T. Campbell, Esq., Auditor-General, Griqualand West, Cape Colony; Audley Coote, Esq., M.L.A., Tasmania; C. E. Dunlop, Esq., Ceylon; Dr. C. Scovell Grant, Gold Coast, West Africa; J. D. B. Gribble, Esq., Madras Civil Service; James A. Hill, Esq., Griqualand West, Cape Colony; Joseph McDonald, Esq., New South Wales; Archibald Munro, Esq., Jamaica.

The following donations of books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last meeting were announced:—

By the Government of Canada:

Canadian Blue Book, 1879; Parliamentary Debates, 1879, Vols. I. and II.; Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1877.

By the Government of the Cape of Good Hope:

Acts of Parliament, 1879.

By the Government of Jamaica:

Laws of Jamaica, 1879.

By the Government of Natal:

The Natal Almanac and Directory, 1880.

By the Government of New South Wales:

Parliamentary Debates, 1879, Nos. 1 to 9.

By the Government of New Zealand:

Statistics of New Zealand, 1879; Parliamentary Debates 1879.

By the Government of Tasmania:

Walch's Tasmanian Almanac, 1880.

By the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

Statutes of Ontario, 1879.

By the Legislative Assembly of Quebec:

Sessional Papers, 1 to 31, Vol. II., 1877-78; Statutes of Quebec, 1879; Journals of the Legislative Council, Quebec, 1879.

180 *South Australia : her Laws relating to the Alienation of*

By the Agent-General for South Australia :

The Adelaide University Calender, 1880.

By the Government Statist, Victoria :

Statistics of Friendly Societies, 1878.

By the Hon. the Minister of Education, Ontario :

The Annual Report of the Minister of Education of Ontario,  
1878.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, March, 1880.

By the Royal Society of New South Wales :

Journal and Proceedings of the Society, Vol. XII., 1878.

By the Town Council, Dundee :

Report of the Free Library Committee, 1879.

By the Proprietors of the "British Trade Journal" :

The "British Trade Journal," 1879, 2 vols.

By R. Bell, Esq., M.P.P., Canada :

The Canadian Pacific Railway, by General Hewson.

By A. de Boucherville, Esq., Mauritius :

On the Effects of the Forestation in Mauritius.

By W. H. Campbell, Esq. :

British Guiana Directory and Almanac, 1880.

By Messrs. P. Davis and Sons, Natal :

Natal Almanac, Directory, and Register, 1880.

By E. B. Dickson, Esq., Government Observer, New Zealand :

Weather Report, 1879.

By Hugh Munro Hall, Esq., Tasmania :

Parliamentary Papers; Defences of Tasmania, and Volunteer Officers' Report of Examination, 1879.

By J. S. Knevett, Esq. :

Meteorological Observations from January, 1874, to December, 1879, at New Westminster, British Colombia.

By D. P. Nathan, Esq., Jamaica :

Handbook of Jamaica, Part I. and II.; Jamaica in connection with the Inter-oceanic Ship Canal, a Lecture delivered in Jamaica by M. L. Ellis, July, 1879.

By Lieut.-Col. T. B. Strange, R.A., Canada :

Report on the State of the Canadian Militia, 1879.

By C. Todd, Esq., C.M.G., South Australia :

Meteorological Observations at Adelaide, Nov. and Dec., 1878.

By Lieut.-Col. William White, Canada :

Canadian Blue Book, 1879.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon SIR ARTHUR BLYTH, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia, to read the following paper :—

## SOUTH AUSTRALIA:

HER LAWS RELATING TO THE ALIENATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND, AND HER RECENT INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. By Sir ARTHUR BLYTH, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia.

IN directing our attention to the legislation of distant Colonial Dependencies which exercise the privilege of self-government, it is only reasonable to recognise both the advantages and disadvantages which attach to their position as compared with that of old-established and sovereign States. On the one hand, it is undoubtedly true that they stand at a great advantage in being unencumbered with vested interests and traditional time-honoured customs and institutions, which in older States it is found so much easier to disparage than to remove. To some extent their career is like a blank sheet of paper, on which the legislator may write his matured thoughts unembarrassed and unimpeded. It is somewhat a parallel to what we often experience in our own individual conduct of life when we say, "If we had to begin entirely afresh, unencumbered by all the events that have now happened, our course would be plain and clear; but circumstances having happened as they have done, we must regulate our course of action by past events." And yet it is not altogether so, for the well-known rule of constitutional law by which a Colony founded by settlement carries with it into the wild of its new and distant home, the laws of England as it stands at the moment the branch is separated from the parent stem (so far as they are applicable to its circumstances and condition) has been not infrequently found a source of great uncertainty and difficulty. I need only refer to the question of the laws relating to the transfer of land, where the problems were so triumphantly solved by Sir R. Torrens's system of Registration of Titles, but not till after long years of difficulty and conflict. Again, in taking account of the difficulties of legislation in our Colonial Dependencies, we must not forget the absence of a wealthy, leisured class, whose education has been specially directed to the duty of aiding in the government of their country, and whose position and wealth removes them from the temptation of selfish bias in favour of particular industries and interests. No doubt, also, this difficulty is increased by the great temptations presented by increased facility of travel to our wealthy colonists, to spend at all events a considerable portion of their time in European travel or residence in Britain.

One attribute may I think be fairly claimed by the Colonial

Legislatures as to their work: its eminently practical character. Macaulay, speaking with encomium of the rules that have guided the British Parliaments from the very first to the very present, speaks of them as being somewhat these: "Never to remove an anomaly because it is an anomaly; never to provide a remedy greater than the particular evil it is intended to correct or remove." The Colonies have faithfully adhered to these rules. If it is urged against them that they are frequently changing their front, and that every session amends or alters what has been done the year before, it must be borne in mind that in young communities the circumstances themselves change rapidly, and unforeseen events render amendments imperatively necessary on what was at the time wise and useful.

As an instance of the eminently practical character of Australian legislation, rendered more interesting by the very peculiar circumstances that called it forth, I would refer to the Bullion Act of South Australia of 1852. That was the period of the great rush to the gold-fields of Victoria when, somewhat broadly stated, the adult male population trooped off to enrich themselves with the precious metal, leaving the women and children to take care of the province. As related in the old ballad—

"This year, the must shall foam  
Round the white feet of laughing girls  
Whose sires have marched"—

not "to Rome," but to the gold fields of Bendigo or Daisy Hill. They all came back, however, or nearly all whose return was to be desired, and brought abundance of wealth with them, but all in crude gold. Thanks to our then most suitable land system, the South Australian farmer had no intention of finally abandoning his homestead. But crude gold, though easily saleable to the merchant was no legal tender at the banks, and bills, mortgage debts, &c. had to be paid. The coined money had been pretty well drained from the banks in exchange for notes by the departing gold miners when they set out on their adventures. It was a most extraordinary position a Tantalus-like crisis, starvation in the midst of plenty, one that would have gladdened the heart of the political economist or Birmingham theoriser on the currency question. He would have rejoiced as the surgeon does over an interesting case.

It was long antecedent to the establishment of the Royal Mint at Sydney, and before any steamship had crossed the ocean to the Australian Continent. The voyage from England was still about three and a half months' average duration. Furthermore, a serious difficulty existed as to legislative remedial measures, in the clause

of the Governor's instructions, which directed that all Acts relating to the currency should be reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure, and not receive at once the Governor's assent in her name.

Sir Henry Young, the Governor of South Australia, wisely determined to run the risk of censure, considering the pressing nature of the emergency. The preamble of the Bullion Act, celebrated in our Colonial archives, set forth that "the amount of uncoined gold in South Australia may be expected to increase, that great inconveniences were occasioned by reason of the inability to exchange such gold at a fixed rate for coin or for notes which shall be a legal tender; and that fears were entertained that the banks might be compelled to contract their circulation to an extent which would prove very greatly injurious to the commercial, agricultural, pastoral, and mining interests of the province." The enacting clauses of the Bill proceeded to place the three banks that were then the only institutions of that character in the province somewhat in the position that the Bank of England holds in this country.

A Government assayer was appointed to receive, assay, and melt gold, cast it into ingots and stamp the weight and fineness on each. The banks were bound to give notes at the rate of £9 11s. per ounce for gold, and allowed to issue notes against bullion. Such bullion, however, was not to be disposed of by the banks while the notes issued against it remained in circulation.

The notes of the banks were made a legal tender except by the banks themselves. The gold stamped by the Government assayer was made a legal tender by the banks for all notes or other debts. Such, in brief, were the provisions of this remarkable Act. As to the result, it is sufficient to say that it was completely effectual in averting distressing complications, commercial suspensions, and general disaster. The measure received the Governor's assent 28th January 1850, and his Excellency's action, I believe, received the full approbation of the Colonial Office. It removed the difficulty arising from the cumbrous nature of the improvised legal tender of ingots, the Government Assay Office was with all convenient speed converted into a temporary mint, and one pound gold tokens of the South Australian Government were issued therefrom: An amending Act was assented to 23rd November of the same year, which repealed the provision, entitled anyone to demand notes for bullion, and provided for the issue of gold tokens of the value of £5, £2, £1 and 10s. at the rate of £9 11s. per ounce, such gold tokens to be a legal tender. The speedy arrival of a sufficient supply of British sovereigns rendered their provisional currency unnecessary, and

the subsequent establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint at Sydney prevented the possible recurrence of the difficulty. The intrinsic value of the tokens being of course considerably in excess of their nominal amount, they speedily went out of circulation, and are now considered great curiosities; only 24,648 were coined altogether. I think you will agree with me that, considering the hurried circumstances of the crisis, the execution of the South Australian token is not discreditable.

I have sometimes thought an interesting book might be written, giving a *resumé* of the different systems in different ages and countries of the tenure of land, and also of the manner in which property in land has been at different times acquired. Certain it is, that in no subject have wilder theories been promulgated, or stranger and more diversified experiments indulged in. But as Bulwer Lytton says, in speaking of the great book his amiable Austin Caxton was engaged upon, "The History of Human Error," it was in fact the History of the Human Race, so my suggested work on land tenure would have to stretch back to the earliest ages of history, and traverse the globe to all countries where any approach to civilisation could be recognised. We should find at one time and place land in immense areas given away by a monarch with a free and indiscriminating generosity, and at others fabulous prices given for occupation or use. It is a matter in connection with which from time to time in different countries difficulties have arisen which must be grappled with somehow, one thing being very clear, that from the very nature of things property in land never can be quite the same thing or on quite the same footing as property in movable chattels, cattle, or gold.

It was, I think I am right in affirming, in consequence of the gold discoveries in 1852 that the difficult question of the alienation of land on any other than simple mercantile theories of money being paid for occupancy or fee-simple, was forced upon the attention of the legislatures of the different Australian communities. Those discoveries of course attracted large numbers of emigrants from Britain simply seeking a speedy fortune by the attractive process of sinking holes and finding nuggets. When the days passed by for this somewhat attractive lottery, and gold mining was fast becoming a systematic industry, there were great numbers of colonists in Victoria who, if they were of any special trade at all, belonged to callings in which there was no immediate prospect of advantageous or profitable employment. It was a statesmanlike, if somewhat obvious, plan, with a large area of land ready for the plough, so to legislate as to convert a large number of these waifs

and strays into a settled yeomanry or agricultural middle class. The difficulty, of course, was to give facilities for tenure or occupancy of the soil to this class, and prevent it passing into the hands of the large landholder or other rich men. In other lands and at many other periods of history has the great value of such a middle class been recognised, and its freedom or preservation from destruction been attempted by legislative measures. I need only refer to the Agrarian Laws of Ancient Rome. A modern historian has told us how at one period of English history "in the latter Tudor reigns there were bitter complaints that the small proprietors were being rapidly absorbed, that tenants were being everywhere turned adrift, and that great tracts of land which had once been inhabited by a flourishing yeomanry were being converted into sheep walks. A long series of attempts were made to check it by laws placing obstacles in the way of new enclosures: prohibiting the pulling down of farmhouses to which twenty acres of arable land were attached, restraining the number of sheep in a flock, and even regulating the number of acres under tillage." \*

It will be readily understood that when this course of action was entered upon in the central Colony of Victoria with its large population and wealth, it would soon be a necessity for adjoining provinces to follow more or less in the same direction, and regulate their enactments for agricultural settlement somewhat on the same principles. The facility and cheapness of communication between the provinces, being all under the British Crown, and all alike enjoying free institutions and good government, rendered it simply impossible that less liberal and encouraging terms should be held out to those willing to purchase and cultivate the lands in one Colony than another, otherwise a speedy depopulation and impoverishment would have been the result. To render my Paper more useful and intelligible, it will be well here in a very brief and condensed form to give the systems of Victoria and New South Wales as they exist at the present time, of course after many modifications which the practical working of the law has appeared to render necessary from time to time, and show how in these two provinces the great difficulty of confining the advantages to the particular class for whom they are intended has been met.

In New South Wales the system is that known as free "Selection before Survey." The selector is tied down to make improvements to the extent of £1 per acre, but is in no way bound to cultivate the land. He may utilise it in any way he thinks best, by grazing

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\* Lecky's History of England in Eighteenth Century, Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.



cattle, or sheep-breeding, or farming. Lands at a certain distance from towns are open for conditional sale to anyone of the age of sixteen years or upwards, in lots of not less than 40 or more than 640 acres, at the price of £1 per acre; £5 per acre deposit has to be paid, and the balance at the end of three years. *Bonâ fide* residence is insisted upon. Payment may be deferred from year to year upon payment of 5 per cent. interest in advance, and of instalments of the principal of not less than 1s. per acre per annum. The minerals are reserved by the Crown. No one is allowed to be a conditional purchaser as servant, agent, or trustee for another. All contracts or agreements entered into in violation of this last provision are to be void, and the person entering into them is to be held guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable to a sentence of hard labour for two years. The conditional purchaser between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one is to be considered as of full age. The land may be selected before survey, and temporary boundaries assigned by the purchaser. The Government are bound to survey it within twelve months, or else this may be effected by a licensed surveyor, and the expense deducted from the purchase-money.

For the agricultural land system of Victoria I am indebted to the Year-Book, by the Government statist of that colony, Mr. Henry W. Hayter.

An extent not exceeding 820 acres is allowed to be selected by one person. It is held under license for six years; the licensee must reside on it at least five years, must enclose it, cultivate one out of every ten acres, and effect improvements to the value of 20s. per acre. The rent is 1s. per annum, which is credited as part payment of the principal. At the end of six years the selector, having fulfilled all the conditions, may complete his purchase by the payment of 14s. an acre, or convert his license into a lease for fourteen years, at 1s. an acre, which is also credited as part payment of the fee-simple. And so at the expiry of this lease the land becomes his freehold. Purchasers who do not reside upon their holdings pay 2s. an acre, and, of course, £2 for the freehold, and effect improvements in the first six years to the extent of £2 per acre, but non-resident licenses must not be issued in any one year for more than 200,000 acres.

Neither in New South Wales nor Victoria has the unconditional sale of land by auction for cash been entirely discontinued. South Australia held out the longest against the new system, which was viewed by those of conservative tendencies to be contrary to sound principles of political economy and savouring of socialistic ideas. The old system under which she had been founded with the high

price of a pound an acre for the fee-simple of the land—but the half of that sum absolutely tied down to be expended in the introduction of labour and the construction of roads and bridges, so as to render cultivation possible, and access of produce to ports and markets easy—had, on the whole, worked so well, and had so much to commend it, that it is not to be wondered at that with many it was accepted as a kind of economic creed. It was admirable, both in theory and practice, for an infant and somewhat paternally-governed community. In process of time, however, the Colony had outgrown it, the public works which the great extent of settlement rendered necessary, railways, harbour extension and improvement, &c., were being constructed by means of loans raised in the mother country, where capital was waiting for profitable use, and was thus reasonably attracted to a continent where immense areas only required capital to enable their wealth to be developed. Moreover, the great success that had attended pastoral pursuits on land held at moderate rates under pastoral leases from the Crown, enabled many successful sheep farmers to purchase large tracts of country they had previously rented in fee-simple; growing wealth and prosperity in mercantile and other pursuits had produced a class of capitalists who found the purchase of land a secure and profitable investment. Hence it will be readily understood that as the farmer's sons grew up to manhood, and he wished to purchase land on which to give them a start in life with a reasonable prospect of independence and wealth, he found himself surrounded with wealthier competitors who outbid him. It was easy for theorists to say that the land that was best adapted for farming would in the nature of things find its way into the occupation of the agriculturist in the ultimate result, and that all would work round in the end, if the natural laws of political economy were left uninterrupted, to produce their sure results; it was felt largely, if not universally, that the intending *bonâ fide* farmer should be enabled by some means to buy direct from the Government without the intervention of capitalist or land jobber, and that the Government should not take a commercial view of its duties and principles, but so act as became, not the managers of a vast land company, but the trustees of the Colonial Estate for the greatest good of the greatest number, and the greatest and most lasting benefit to the community at large.

Ultimately, the five broad principles adopted as points to be aimed at in the legislation for the disposal of agricultural land (somewhat broadly stated) were these:—

1. Free selection, that is direct purchase without competition at auction.

2. Deferred payments, that is, credit for the purchase-money.
3. Occupation : that the farmer should actually live on the land.
4. Cultivation : that he should be bound actually to till it.
5. Limitation : that each purchaser should only be allowed on these terms to select a certain limited area.

It will readily be believed that to bring these principles into working order, and to obviate the difficulties that arose, required many amendments of the original Act, and in some instances false steps had to be retraced. From 1867 to the present time the subject has, to a greater or lesser extent, every year engaged the attention of the Legislature. The two main difficulties before which others paled into obscurity were these :—

1. How to prevent a colourable purchase of the land by the servants and agents of the capitalist with the disguised, but undoubted, intention of transfer to him after payment of principal, interest, and issue of title by the Crown.

2. How to settle equitably and wisely between simultaneous applicants for the same particular sections, or allotments of land.

To meet the first of these difficulties, the enactments of the South Australian Land Laws have been very severe. A solemn and comprehensive declaration is required from every credit purchaser that he alone is interested in the land he selects. Any discovery of deception or of any secret understanding with others, leads to the absolute unconditioned and uncompensated forfeiture of the holding and of all payments that have been made on account. Any breach of covenants entered into by the purchaser renders him liable to a like penalty. He may be required to answer any inquiries, even to convict himself by his answers, and refusal to give satisfactory or explicit replies, all entail the same severe judgment. Once detected, he is never permitted to purchase again from the Government on credit terms. In fact, no loophole is left as far as legal skill, and careful consideration over and over again given can provide safeguards, and assurance is endeavoured to be made doubly sure. Still it cannot be denied that “dummyism,” as the evil of fictitious purchase is popularly called, does exist ; but I may affirm that the percentage as compared with real *bonâ fide* occupancy is not large.

I am borne out in this view by the results of the inquiries of a select committee of the House of Assembly, which was appointed last year to inquire into the working of this portion of the land laws. They ascertained that out of the number of completed purchases in the two years, from 1st July, 1877, to 30th June, 1879, only about one in six sold their land out of their family, and the

Committee had good reason to believe that many of these sales were effected in good faith, because the holdings were too small, and the farmers were desirous of transferring their energies to more distant country, where a larger area could be selected, and their operations carried on on a more extended scale.

The second difficulty: to provide that while everyone was to have free selection of the land he wanted to cultivate without competing with his neighbour, there should yet be a fair and simple way of meeting the emergency of two or more desiring the same plot of ground, has led to the trial of one or two different systems. The first plan was that simultaneous applications should be decided by lot; the second, that of limited auction—i.e. a sale by auction, in which the bidding was confined to those who had made applications for the identical area; and the next was, what was called "auction for choice." According to this method the lands in a newly-surveyed hundred were exposed for sale by public auction, but those only in the first instance were admitted to bid who declared themselves ready to be actual *bona fide* residents on the land. The bidding, however, was not for any special block but for the first choice of an area not exceeding a given acreage, and the choice being declared at the fall of the hammer, the sale continued till the opportunity of choice was pretty well exhausted. Afterwards a second auction gave to the purchaser who proposed substituted residence a similar chance of obtaining first choice of that which was left. This system was thought, however, to press too hardly on the agriculturist as bidding (in a manner of speaking) against an imaginary competitor, for he could not tell which particular section his keenest opponent coveted; he often gave a higher price for his land than he would have done if he had been immediately and openly submitted to competition. To this system then—viz. the direct sale by auction of each individual section, the competition being confined in the first instance to the intending personal residents, subsequently to those who propose substituted residence—has the Legislature thought it wise to revert.

The following, then, are the principal heads of the existing law for the disposal of agricultural lands in South Australia. The object aimed at is that the Crown lands shall, in the first instance, be sold direct by the Government to the *bona fide* cultivator, and to him alone. When the governing powers are satisfied that they are dealing directly with the man they wish to deal with, there are scarcely any bounds to their liberality and goodwill. These are by no means tied hard and fast within the four corners of Acts of Parliament. If deficient harvests come and dry seasons, or the

"caterpillar and the palmer worm," as spoken of by the prophets of old, blight the crops, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, with a paternal tenderness, will wait for his instalments of principal or interest, charging sometimes an only nominal fine for the delay. But he must be satisfied it is the *bonâ fide* farmer he has to do with ; he has no mercy on the dummy ; his liberality is paralysed, and his genial consideration vanishes, when he gets him into his grip.

The land is surveyed in sections of not more than 500 acres' extent. The minimum price is one pound per acre, and it is offered directly (by auction) to *bonâ fide* cultivators, first to those who promise personal residence ; secondly, to those who propose substitution of a bailiff or male manservant over eighteen years of age.

The land unsold at auction is open for selection by private contract by *bonâ fide* cultivators, and in the event of simultaneous applications, the applicant intending to reside personally has the preference.

The purchaser covenants to make improvements on the land of the nature of dwelling-house, farm-buildings, wells, tanks, or reservoirs, fences, &c., to the extent of a certain sum per acre before the end of second, third, and fourth years of his occupation respectively.

He also covenants in every year to have one-fifth of his land under cultivation.

One acre of osiers, olives, vines, fruits, potatoes, beetroot, or hops is allowed to rank as equal to six acres of cereals.

The purchaser is not allowed to transfer or assign his holding without the consent of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Payment is to be made as follows :—

Ten per cent. on amount of purchase-money as payment of interest for the first three years, a second 10 per cent at the end of three years as interest for succeeding period of same extent ; at end of six years one-fourth of the purchase-money and 10 per cent. on balance still due as interest for third period of three years ; and at end of nine years the balance in full remaining due. But the personal resident having fulfilled all the conditions of his contract may complete his purchase and obtain his title at the end of five years.

The purchaser may at any time pay instalments of not less than £50, and have his interest at once proportionately reduced.

No one is allowed at any time to purchase on credit (under the provisions of the present Crown Lands Act) land to a greater extent than one thousand acres. Having reached this limit the

purchasing power of the individual is exhausted as far as regards sales by the Government on credit.

No one under the age of eighteen, or a married woman, is allowed to hold land upon credit.

The selection of an insolvent or defaulting mortgagor selector is sold for the benefit of creditors or mortgagee, but only to such purchaser as shall be entitled to hold land on credit from the Government.

The preceding paragraph conveys a recent amendment of the law empowering selectors to mortgage their lands, but this is only lawful upon the permission of the Commissioner of Crown Lands in each case being granted.

Lands unsold for two years may be sold by auction for cash at not less than £1 per acre, unconditionally.

Lands unsold for five years may be offered for sale by auction in blocks of 1,280 acres on leasehold for ten years at upset rental of 6d. an acre, with right of purchase at the end of the lease at £1 per acre.

Such, briefly stated, are the terms on which agricultural land is sold in South Australia, and the result of modifications of the law from time to time during the past twelve years. The question will be asked, what has been the result of the system on the whole? The success has been simply marvellous. "The desert has been made to blossom as the rose," or rather to wave with the harvest of "yellow sheaves of ripening corn." The banker, commercial traveller, or politician returns from his travels through what are known as the northern agricultural areas, filled with astonishment at the immense districts of growing wheat ripening for the reaping machine through which he has passed.

On January 19th, 1878, our present Governor, Sir William Jervois, just before his recent visit to England, was entertained at a banquet to celebrate the opening of the railway from Gladstone to Caltowie. One of the most splendid repasts ever seen out of Adelaide was provided, and his Excellency said it could not have been surpassed in London. It was served in the rear of the hotel in a temporary building, the walls of which were formed of bags of wheat. The roof was of galvanised iron, and windows were let in at the side. The place, which was tastefully decorated, was in every way suitable for the purpose. His Excellency said, "I must refer to the building in which we are now assembled. It is typical of the country through which we have passed. I belong to the engineers by profession, and it has been my lot to build works of many materials, but I have never yet undertaken to build one

with stacks of wheat. I have been amazed at passing through the country at seeing what I have seen. I came up here to see, before I went to England, of what this portion of the country consists. What I have seen surpasses any expectation I have formed. When I think that five years ago this place may be almost said to have had no existence, I feel it reflects great credit not only on our legislators, who have wisely adopted land laws that have enabled the country to be taken up, but on the successive Governments who established railways, and are thrusting them northward, eastward, and southward, and I hope they will soon go through the length and breadth of the continent."

Many years ago the late lamented martyred missionary, Bishop Patteson, visited our province, and said that in travelling through our farming districts nothing astonished him so much as the immense area of cultivation, with so few comparative signs of human life and habitation. It seemed as if the earth was spontaneously yielding forth her fruits. No doubt this has only been rendered possible by the invention of the reaping-machine, with which the name of our old colonist, John Ridley, will ever be associated. It is especially adapted to the South Australian climate, where the crops ripen so rapidly, almost suddenly, that with our small and sparse population it would be impossible to harvest them by hand labour.

With a man, or a man and a boy, and four or five horses, it does the work of twenty or thirty men. I am much pleased to learn by the recent Adelaide papers that a project is set on foot to erect some permanent and suitable memorial of the great debt we owe to the inventor, by the establishment of a Chair of Agriculture in our Adelaide University, or, at all events, a scholarship, to be called by the name of "John Ridley." The papers of last December gave a most interesting account of the trial of several machines which have competed for a premium of £4,000 offered by the Government for a further development of this admirable invention. The present reaping-machine takes off the ears of wheat and thrashes it within the apparatus; it has been felt that a wonderful advance would be made if the wheat could be at the same time winnowed and cleaned, and actually made ready to be put into bags when the horses paused in their labour. There were some twenty-eight competing inventions. The judges decided that none of them so thoroughly fulfilled all the required conditions as to justify them in awarding the bonus of £4,000, but they recommended that small sums amounting in all to £250 should be awarded to the inventors of four machines which possessed the most merit. There was one

machine sent from America, but it did not shine in the competition.

The harvest which has just passed has been an unusually good one; it is estimated that the average has been fourteen bushels to the acre, and that the total value of the cereal export will approach four millions. That will amount to about sixteen pounds per head for every man, woman, and child of European extraction from this one source of wealth.

The average of fourteen bushels to the acre may not convey the idea of a wonderfully productive harvest from an English point of view, but in a new country, and in comparison with that of other Australian seasons, it is very high.

				bus. lb.
In South Australia the average in the harvest of 1860, 1861 was				13 4
"	"	"	1865, 1866	" 8 44
"	"	"	1870, 1871	" 11 30
"	"	"	1875, 1876	" 11 57
"	"	"	1878, 1879 only	7 9

I am indebted to a writer in the last number of the *Contemporary Review* for the following figures, which will be useful for comparison:—

In England the average is 29½ bushels to the acre.					
"	Holland	"	"	28	" "
"	France	"	"	13	" "
"	Russia	"	"	5½	" "
"	All Australia	"	"	10	" "
"	United States	"	"	13	" "

One extraordinary fact is, the ever-advancing area of land to the northward of South Australia in which the cultivation of cereals is found possible and profitable. The line of demarcation beyond which it is acknowledged that attempts at cultivation are unwise, and that sheep-farmers only can utilise the land at a profit, has been removed further and further to the northward as the wave of settlement has advanced. It was not any deficiency in the quality of the soil that supported the view as to the limitation of area to which cultivation could be extended, but the deficiency of rainfall. There is little doubt that cultivation improves a climate in this respect. I must here refer also to the wise measures of legislation in the last few years, for which we are indebted to a great degree to a German member of Parliament, Mr. Krichauff, in respect to forest preservation and tree cultivation. The great diminution of rainfall that follows the denuding a country of trees has been clearly set forth by the experience of India and Spain, and the attention of the South Australian Legislature was directed to this matter not a day too soon. And this will perhaps be the best



place to speak of the extent of the land considered available for agriculture.

The total area of South Australia proper is nearly 248½ million acres. Thirty-six counties have been proclaimed containing about 37½ million acres ; out of which, at the end of 1878, 8,065,418 acres had been sold ; thus leaving between 29 million and 30 million of acres in the counties still unalienated. A very great portion of this will be available for agriculture. But beyond the counties between them and the strictly pastoral country undoubtedly too distant from the seaboard to be ever cultivated with profit, is a belt of country comprising about 28½ million acres. A large portion of this it is anticipated may be taken up for agricultural purposes in the course of the next ten years, and the policy of the Government is to divide the remainder into sheep-runs of moderate size and to lease them on most favourable terms, it being anticipated that they would to a very great extent be taken up by the larger farmers who occupy the agricultural land nearest to them ; the policy of the Government being to encourage the union, as far as possible, of agricultural and pastoral pursuits, so that there should be no conflict of interest between these two great industries. And with respect to the water supply in this intermediate area the Government are importing boring machines of the newest and most improved construction, with the hopes that by means of artesian wells this want may be supplied. One of the Professors of the Adelaide University recently made a long journey to the north-west of the province, to make observations to the geological formations, and to advise the Government as to the most likely places in which to make their experiments.

Wonderful, also, has been the growth of seacoast townships which have started to life. Port Pirie (the Liverpool of South Australia, as it is called) a very few years back was the site of a jetty, whence the wool of a few sheep-farmers' growth was transported by lighters to vessels lying in the gulf, is now a large, important town, with churches, schools, mills, warehouses, banks, and wharves, which have risen with almost American precocity and rapidity. The freehold land on its business frontages are sold at high prices, the railway that brings the products of a large tract of country runs down to its wharves. And Port Pirie is only one of several ports on the shores of the two great gulfs which do so much to make up for the want of large navigable rivers, the one cardinal deficiency of Australia. Thus it arises that a great check has been placed upon too great a centralisation. One of the worst things that can happen to a young Colony is the growth of a vast dispro-

portioned metropolis ; disproportioned, that is, to the settled country where the production of its wealth is carried on.

The poet speaks of—

“The tramp of pioneers  
Of nations yet to be,  
The first low wash of waves, where soon  
Will roll a human sea.”

The agricultural settlement of the northern districts of South Australia has been more like a tidal wave. And here I must take one glance at the measure in which the religious and intellectual element of civilisation has kept pace with the material conquest of the soil. As to the first, it is sufficient to say that all the different Churches have fully recognised their responsibility, and have not been slack in their efforts to supply the spiritual needs of these young and comparatively distant districts. As to education, the Colony of South Australia may well point with pride to what she has done within the last three or four years. But a very short time ago her system of encouragement to education was, compared with that of older countries and neighbouring provinces, as the ancient British coracle to the modern steam-impelled yacht of steel. The Government now have sprinkled school-houses all over the land, the law providing that wherever an average attendance of twenty children within a radius of two miles can be calculated upon, there shall a schoolhouse and teacher's residence be provided. Even for smaller numbers arrangements are made by a system of provisional teachers. In whatever direction the traveller journeys the neat, substantial, thoroughly well-finished, but unostentatious building of the school and teacher's house catches his eye. Nor is the material side alone excellent ; expense has not been spared to secure excellent teachers, many having been attracted by the liberal remuneration offered by the Colonies. A staff of inspectors secures a complete supervision of the work that is being done. This is no unimportant element in directing attention to the province as a desirable place for farmers wishing to emigrate to select as their future home.

With a wisdom and foresight, which, if it had only been exercised from the foundation of the Colony, would have effectually prevented any difficulty as to funds, the Government devote every year some 20,000 acres of land as a permanent endowment for education purposes, the income from which is applied in aid of the annual expenditure. This is, as is well known, an American system ; it is unnecessary to point out how, as years pass on, the “unearned increment” will largely add to the educational resources of the province.

The expenditure on education in the year 1869 was 25½ thousand pounds, and in 1878 nearly 153 thousand pounds, a large proportion of the latter sum being expended in the erection of school-houses.

Again, the Government give every assistance towards the establishment of mechanics' institutes and reading-rooms. They give grants of land in the newly-formed townships and subsidise the funds for their erection by an equal amount to that voluntarily subscribed. These useful institutions are steadily increasing in number and efficiency.

You must excuse here a digression of a few moments, while speaking of the attractiveness of Australia to the intending capitalist emigrant, if I allude to the wonderful increase of postal facilities with our Colonies which has recently taken place. Somewhere about the year 1845 a ship called the *Stratford*, a barque of some 500 tons, obtained a charter from the Government to take out the mails for the whole of the Australian Colonies. She sailed for Sydney and occupied 180 days on the passage. There is now literally a mail every Friday, the time occupied is from thirty-six to forty days, and an answer to a letter to Adelaide can be received in three, sometimes in two and a half, months. The rates of postage to Britain are now sixpence the half-ounce. I recollect when a mercantile letter sent by way of some Indian or South American port often cost two shillings or two shillings and sixpence.

We have not yet an inland penny postage, but there is a uniform twopenny rate, and a kind of Australian Postal Union allows letters between all the Colonies of the Australasian group to be carried for the same low charge; so we consider that we are in advance in this respect of Europe, where twopence-halfpenny is the international rate. In South Australia newspapers go free, and are transmitted free to Great Britain.

Eminent statesmen and leading writers of the organs of public opinion have of late been emphasising the fact that the sons, at all events, of the British farming community, if they are to inherit the honourable and to a great extent attractive calling of their fathers, will have to go farther afield than the British Isles. They will not cease to be British subjects and English farmers by carrying their experience and energy to the distant dependencies of the British Crown.

It will have been readily gathered from the different conditions and covenants entered into by the South Australian agriculturist, that in a great many instances he begins the world with little or no capital. But the superior position in which a settler with some

capital to assist him in his operations will stand, is very marked. He will be able to avoid the one great danger which the thoughtful and far-sighted think they discern in our agriculture—that of exhaustion of the soil by continual cropping with the same product. The possessor of a little capital will be enabled to farm more systematically and scientifically than too many of the selectors, who are working, so to speak, from hand to mouth. And the tendency of South Australian future legislation on this subject is to offer every encouragement to the agriculturist to add, in a moderate scale, pastoral pursuits to that of tillage. The combination of this and other varieties of agricultural industry will all tend to make his wealth more permanent and more secure. For the cultivation of the vine, olives, mulberry, and many other similar products, it may be said, without any exaggeration, that the soil and climate of South Australia are better adapted than any part of the known world. But these must grow by degrees, and if entered upon as something additional to more immediately remunerating culture, will in a few years add largely to the exported wealth of the province.

There is no country in the world like ours for the grape. My time will not allow me to do more than refer to the subject of the future of the Australian wine trade. It is well deserving a special evening for its consideration, and I shall be glad if someone especially well qualified will introduce the subject to the attention of the Royal Colonial Institute. I am in great hopes that a modification of the British wine tariff will be of material benefit to this industry. Some of the richest, purest, most wholesome wine in the world has been made in South Australia. No doubt it has distinctly national characteristics, but there is no article of consumption in which habit and education has more influence than wine, and there are few products more fitted to be brought from the ends of the earth, as time improves instead of deteriorates its quality. But I merely refer to the subject now as showing how there is ample room for extension of variety of product by the South Australian agriculturist.

It is no part of my present purpose to institute comparisons between Australia and other fields for the enterprise of the emigrating agriculturist. I can well imagine it may be urged that by the distance of Australia from the great centres of population of the world, it must be heavily weighted in the race. It lies, it may be said, in an out-of-the-way corner of the globe, separated by wide oceans which no advance of engineering science can bridge over. But I would point out that the real question as to the

successful export of cereals is that of easy and inexpensive access to the seaboard. There is no excessive speed required in the transport across the ocean as with the early gatherings of the tea harvest. And the difficulties of distance and supply of tonnage in proportion to the estimated export, as the harvest may prove prolific or the reverse, and the consequent excess of the speculative nature of the trade, have been almost removed, or reduced at all events to a minimum by the enterprise and courage of which South Australia is justly proud, which carried out the great work of the Transcontinental Telegraph bridging over a continent peopled by wild savages, which had been only recently traversed by the explorer Stuart, the wonderful messenger joins the submarine cable at Port Darwin, and now the *South Australian Register* on every merchant's breakfast-table gives him the market quotations in London of freights and produce of a very few hours before. Not without sad loss of life from savage and treacherous assaults of the wild denizens of the interior, not without great expenditure (about £400,000, I think, in cost of construction), not without considerable annual outlay in excess of expenditure over receipts, and perpetual repairs and maintenance, has this great and wonderful work been accomplished. South Australia says, as Coriolanus of old, "Alone I did it."

No wonder if she is a little touchy and self-asserting when permission for free use of her transcontinental wires is politely asked of a neighbouring province. But to return to the means of transmission of cereals to the export ports on our coast. As I have said already, the two great inlets of Spencers and St. Vincent's Gulf afford great facilities in this matter; and the Government has taken on itself the duty, in some countries undertaken by public companies as a mercantile speculation, of providing the means of transit by railway communication. One glance at the map I now show will serve to make clear the extent to which the means of transit to the interior have been provided, or are in course of provision. A memorandum at foot of the map shows the 5 ft. 8 in. gauge, the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, the railways completed, those in course of construction, and those whose construction is contemplated at some future time. No doubt the diversity of gauge is to be regretted, but when the main trunk lines were made at the wider gauge, it was never anticipated that the many different districts of the interior would so soon require railway accommodation. With great diffidence, as not being an engineer, I would venture an opinion as to the economy of working, and suitability for the particular circumstances of the Colony, of

the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge. I am aware it is now a general impression that as regards economy of construction it is principally in mountainous countries, as in Norway, and in a lesser degree Queensland, that this is realised by increased narrowness of gauge. But I am strongly inclined to believe that the nonpaying weight is less in the 3 ft. 6 in. A speed of twenty miles per hour can be obtained with perfect safety, and if any trifling misadventure occurs, the rolling stock is much more easily handled. This is not an unimportant matter in regard to lines that run for miles and miles through uninhabited scrub. The lines are all constructed in a thoroughly substantial manner, nothing of what the Lord Bishop of Manchester denounces as "Jerry-building." And considering the comparative high price of labour that always obtains, they have on the whole been economically made. Of course, the cost has varied very much. The lines on the broader gauge constructed of recent years have been at the rate of from £4,000 to £5,500 per mile, including rolling stock and every other expenditure proper to capital account. The narrow gauge lines have varied still farther in cost. They have ranged from £3,000 per mile up to £6,500. The Balaklava and Hamley Bridge junction has just been completed at a cost of only about £2,000 per mile for the permanent way.

I think I am justified in saying that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the railways of South Australia have been a good investment, and are a very fair representation of value for their own portion of our Colonial debt. I believe I am right in saying that the average cost of the Indian railways has been not less than £17,000 per mile. The total expenditure on South Australian railways up to the present time has been nearly four millions; but, of course, it will represent a higher sum when all the red lines are completed. The total of miles open last June, was 501½.

The percentage of profit shown over the working expenses and maintenance varies also to a great degree, from 0·40 per cent. to 9·26, the longest and principal line is calculated to return 8·86 per cent. on its cost. If, after some little time allowed for the inevitable increase of our agricultural settlement, the whole of our railway systems should show this return, it is evident that as the rate at which money is generally borrowed is about 4½ per cent., the amount paid by the community generally will be little more than 1 per cent. on the outlay on our railway lines, a small percentage that may well be considered as amply repaid by the many indirect but no less invaluable advantages derived by the whole

community from a complete and well organised system of road communication.

In the meantime, with great prudence the Government have not made the interest returned on the outlay on the railways the primary consideration. They have been far more anxious that they should lead to the profitable and extended development of the wealth of the province. The rate charged for the transit of wheat by the different lines is 2½d. per ton per mile, which is as nearly as possible, I think, .067 per mile per bushel of 60 lbs.

I would direct your attention for a moment or two to the map I have prepared, and ask you to observe the ample means of conveyance of produce to the seaboard. One of the great wheat-producing districts is Yorke's Peninsula, and there are abundant facilities afforded for the transmission of produce from thence by the erection of jetties at different points on the coast. Stansbury, Edithburg, Ardrossan, Port Victoria, are all in regular communication by trading steamers with Port Adelaide.

The great wheat-producing plains to the north, "The Areas," as they are called, *par excellence*, are the districts surrounding Jamestown, Gladstone, Blyth, Burra, Hallett, the less recently occupied country, that to which I referred as awaking the enthusiasm of Bishop Patteson, lies round about Riverton, Saddleworth, Manoira, Kapunda, Roseworthy, and Gawler. There is a saying generally current that South Australia lies to the North of Adelaide, and as to extent of valuable territory and amount of exportable wealth, it is to a great extent true.

As shown by the map, the lines of railway already constructed or authorised by Parliament do not represent the finality of railway construction in the province. The northern line to Farina town is intended ultimately to cross the Continent to Port Darwin, and thus bring us nearer to the great countries of Asia, facilitating the trade with India, China, and the Isles of the East, as well as bringing us into speedy communication with the northern territory, which there can be no doubt will ultimately be a most valuable country, rich in tropical products. Already the number of Chinese immigrants that have arrived there have done much in the advancement of this isolated settlement, which has been long a source of anxiety and perplexity to the South Australian Government. Again, it is thought probable that the line to Morgan will, perhaps, by friendly arrangement with the N.S.W. Government, be extended to Wentworth, which, it is thought, may in years to come be the great central station of the Continent, from whence lines will branch off to all the great capital cities. The new line to Nairne through the

Mount Barker range of hills, is only considered the beginning of the direct railway route to Victoria, the Murray bridge, recently erected, having been constructed of a strength calculated to carry the railway over the river. And yet, again, it is thought by many that the iron road will, at no distant date, be extended from Hallett in a north-westerly direction towards the Riverina district of New South Wales.

I have thus shown that as far as the agricultural occupation of the soil may extend, there will be ample provision for the transmission of its products to the seaboard. It is only necessary to mention that the South Australian is the best wheat in the world. Twice in Paris have we taken the gold medal in competition with all nations. The Hungarian wheat, as regards certain properties and for particular manufactures, is the only description that can be compared with it.

I think I can best conclude this Paper with a few statistical facts as to the extent of our territory, and especially as to the annals of our progress during the last decade, which, broadly stated, corresponds with the introduction of the new system of disposal of agricultural land.

The total sales of land on credit up to the end of 1878 was 3,568,195 acres for the amount of a little over £5,000,000, about an average of £1 8s. per acre.

There are about 1,400,000 acres in wheat culture; the annual increase of this culture is about 100,000 acres.

In the financial year 1868—1869, there were 808,250 acres under cultivation; in the financial year 1878—1879, there were 2,110,333 acres.

In 1869 the population was about 181,000; in 1878 the population was about 249,000.

In the first of these two years, the combined import and export trade was 5,750,000; in the second, 11,075,000.

In the first of these two years, the combined import and staple exports, 2,722,000; in the second, 4,500,000.

In the first of these two years, the combined tonnage inwards and outwards, 881,000 tons; in the second, 906,000.

Thus, during the decade that has succeeded the introduction of the new system of land laws, while population has increased by about a third; the export of staple produce has increased by about two-thirds; the general trade has doubled; and the tonnage employed is nearly three times that of the earlier period; and every other comparison, as to mercantile and general prosperity, if followed out would show like results.



In conclusion, I have to thank you for your kind attention, and hope the necessary statistics and figures which I have tried to make as clear and succinct as possible, have not marred the interest which the recent rapid progress of one of our Australian provinces cannot fail to elicit from all who take notice of the circumstances and history of our great Colonial Empire.

#### DISCUSSION.

THE HON. C. BURNET YOUNG, M.L.C. South Australia, in opening the discussion, said : I believe the three subjects most prominently brought before us in this interesting and valuable paper are that of the more recent land legislation, which has enabled the farmers of South Australia to obtain land direct from the Government by deferred payments ; the invention of a reaping-machine, the introduction of which took place many years previous to this legislation of which I am now speaking ; and the new Land Titles Act, which was the work of Sir Robert Torrens. These, I believe, have been the greatest benefits ever conferred on South Australia. I am happy at seeing Mr. Strangways present, for I feel the greatest pleasure in congratulating him on the great success of the land system which he initiated when Chief Secretary for South Australia. The names of the originators of those three schemes—Mr. Strangways, Mr. John Ridley, and Sir Robert Torrens—will be stamped upon the history of South Australia indelibly, and most deservedly so, because from those three systems we have derived immeasurable benefits. Now, as a matter of course, it was thought that vested interests would be materially injured by the introduction of such new systems, as is always the case with everything new which interferes with what is old ; but, as we usually find is the case with beneficial reforms, the result has proved to be nothing of the kind. It was predicted not only by croakers, but by a great many serious thinkers, that the holders of property in South Australia would be materially injured by the price of land being brought down through the farmers having an opportunity of obtaining land from the Government on such easy terms ; but the result was this, that so great a benefit was derived by the whole community through the new system, and so much greater was the production of wealth in the Colony and the opportunities the farmers had of making money, that in a short time, although there might have been a slight depression at first, the land had risen to its normal value, and even beyond it, and the farmers who had taken up land on credit were anxious to buy other lands from private holders.

(Hear, hear.) The same thing happened with regard to the Real Property Act. It was thought the lawyers were going to be ruined by it; but what was the result? So great was the impetus given to the transfer of real property, and so much did the business increase that, although the profits of the lawyers were not so large as they had been under the old system of conveyance, there is no doubt they have been increasing in wealth, and the number of lawyers has increased likewise very rapidly. Of course, with regard to the Ridley reaping-machine, there was the cry at its introduction which the labourer always makes to any new invention, that his occupation is gone, although it was invented at a time when labour was scarce. Sir Arthur Blyth has referred particularly to the three different land systems in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. Now, I think myself that the South Australian system—and I do not say so because I have been long a resident there—is by far the best of the lot. In the first place, it is a very good thing for a farmer to be able to obtain a thousand acres of land; well, in New South Wales he can only hold 640 acres on credit, and in Victoria only 320. I think the great evil with regard to the New South Wales system is this—the selection before survey, so that any person can go into any part of the country and pick out any piece of land he likes; the result of which is that he can take perhaps the only water, or other salient portion, of the squatter's run and do him a serious injury, without perhaps doing himself any material benefit, by taking up a small area of forty acres, and this, I believe, has been found to be a serious drawback to the system. With regard to the system in Victoria, a man can only take 320 acres, which is a small area, but one that was at first fixed on for South Australia by the original Act, known as Strangways' Act. I think, also, the price and terms in Victoria might be more remunerative to the Government and still sufficiently easy to the farmer. Perhaps the New South Wales Government has hit the happy medium with respect to area. It is contended by many persons that 1,000 acres is a very large tract for every man to take up; and of course, as the area of land suitable for cultivation is necessarily limited, it does limit the number of farmers who can have residences on the land. Although it is a very good thing for them that they are able to have it, the question may well be raised whether it is for the benefit of the country at large. Now, although Sir Arthur Blyth has said in his paper that the land system has attracted a large population to Australia, I do not quite agree with that, and I do not think it has had the effect that one would have supposed it would naturally have had. I do

not think it has proved so attractive as it would have proved if the people and the farmers in England only had the slightest idea of the great benefit they would derive from the land system if they went to Australia. Could they but realise the advantages, I feel convinced they would flock there in thousands. (Hear, hear.) To the farmers in the country itself it has been an inestimable benefit. They have taken up those large areas of land on these easy terms, and it is perfectly astonishing to note the amount of wealth that is now to be seen amongst people who were in very different circumstances only a few years previously. Sir Arthur Blyth has said in his paper that the result is simply marvellous. If you drive through South Australia for some 300 miles northwards from Adelaide, it is wonderful to see the enormous quantity of land under cultivation, and the large tracts that are smiling with wheat. It is, indeed, wonderful, when one considers that the population is only about a quarter of a million. A person who did not know what the population was, travelling throughout these enormous tracts under wheat, would scarcely believe it possible that the population was so small. But they could believe this—I believe it—and it has been frequently affirmed, that there are no other 250,000 people in the world who, taken altogether, are so thoroughly well off as those in South Australia. (Hear, hear.) Of course there is in South Australia, as there is in every other country, a certain amount of poverty arising from special circumstances. But it is one of the greatest blessings, I think, to a resident in any country, not to meet with that grinding poverty which is always under one's eyes in an old and thickly populated country like England. (Hear, hear.) Sir Arthur Blyth has called attention to the statistics of the yield of wheat, showing that in England it is something like thirty bushels to the acre, whilst in Australia it is only about ten. The reason why we can make it pay to grow only ten bushels or even less in Australia is somewhat evident. In the first place, the rent is very small. The average price of land, as has been shown, is only about 28s. or 30s. per acre, which is a very small price. It is not only a very small price, looking at it in one particular point of view because it is in South Australia, but taking it in any point of view it is a small price, and an immense boon for any man to be able to get hold of a thousand acres of good land at 80s. an acre on which he may possibly clear the whole of his purchase-money in a single crop, as has often been the case. Now, the reason why we can grow wheat and sell it profitably, when we only get eight or ten bushels an acre, is that the whole cost of cultivation does not exceed about £1 an acre. That seems a small amount, but it is a positive fact that the whole culti-

vation, including the seed, does not materially exceed £1 or a guinea an acre. The ploughing only costs about 7s. an acre; the sowing and harrowing, 2s.; the reaping, 6s.—thanks to Ridley's reaping machines—the winnowing about 2s.; and 4s. for seed, at one bushel to the acre, which brings it to about one guinea an acre. I have shown that the rent is only interest upon 80s. an acre; that at four or five per cent. charged by the Government brings the cost of production a shilling or two higher. If the farmer gets six bushels an acre, and 5s. a bushel, that is equal to 80s. an acre, which gives him a profit of nearly 10s. an acre beyond his actual expenditure even at the very exceptionally low yield of six bushels. With regard to the exhaustion of the soil, this is a subject which Sir James Fergusson, who was for some years Governor of South Australia, took special interest in. I know that he always did take a very large amount of interest in the welfare of the Colony generally; but I remember he took special interest in the farming of South Australia, believing that the system of exhausting the soil was one that was suicidal in the extreme. There are reasons why this system prevails, and, as a matter of fact, it does prevail in all new countries, primarily because it is cheaper to buy new land than to manure the old. Very appropriately Sir Arthur Blyth has, after the exhaustion of the soil, made special mention of the cultivation of the vine. This is a crop of considerable importance to South Australia, because the exhaustion of the soil by wheat would not at all interfere with its being successfully planted with vines, because they derive their nourishment not from the top soil but from the subsoil. (Hear, hear.) There is one thing that has operated very prejudicially to the vine interests of Australia, and that is the very high duty that is placed upon our wines by the British Government. (Hear, hear.) There is not the slightest doubt that Australia is one of the finest countries in the world for wine-growing, and I believe it is capable of producing any wine that the world has ever seen; but it does so happen for certain reasons that it is on the plains principally that wine cultivation has been carried on, and that the produce of our vineyards on the plains is of a high percentage of alcoholic strength, generally up to 80 per cent. of spirit. We know that the theory which long prevailed that no pure wine ever contained more than 26 per cent. of spirit has been entirely exploded, but the high and unequal duty has nevertheless been retained. This vexatious duty is a sore point with us, for it prevents our carrying on the cultivation of the vine to any profit. (Hear, hear.) We cannot drink all the wine ourselves, and where should we so naturally look for a market as to England?

If we had the English market open to us there is no doubt that we should produce wine to an enormous extent, and that those exhausted soils would be planted with vineyards, to our own great advantage and to the benefit of the British public, for they would then get a pure wine at a moderate price. (Cheers.)

The Rev. P. P. AGNEW said he had been very much interested by the very instructive paper which had been read by the honourable gentleman that evening; and he thought it desirable that such information should be reduced to a popular form, and brought before the labouring classes of Great Britain. Many thousands of willing hands were now struggling in comparative poverty, who would be glad to avail themselves of the innumerable advantages offered to industrious settlers in Australia. It is not generally known, that there are in Great Britain two and a half millions of tenants at will, who are anxious to find new fields of operation, and to establish homes for themselves and their promising families. It is ascertained that this class of people possess capital amounting from £200 to £2,000 each, and this they would be glad to invest in any certain tenure. Could this superior and desirable class of people have the capabilities and advantages of the Colony set before them, they would be willing to pay their own expenses on condition of a cheap and expeditious voyage by steamer, together with a kind reception and a few weeks' shelter on their arrival in the Colonies.

Right Hon. Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart., K.C.M.G. (the newly-appointed Governor of Bombay) said: The few words which I shall have to address to you will be a little more prosaic perhaps than those of the last speaker, but necessarily so, because my acquaintance is only with a more prosaic district, the province of South Australia, which never was the home of those who are euphemistically called prisoners of the Crown, never was a convict Colony at all, and never was stained by bloodshed. Happily it was saved from any horrors following on convict settlement. The population there was always on the side of the law, and I am happy to say the natives received always the most humane and kindly treatment. (Hear, hear.) I am pleased to be among you to-night, to hear the interesting paper read by my valued friend, Sir Arthur Blyth, who worthily filled the post of Prime Minister of South Australia during part of my administration, and who I am sure all who know him will confirm me when I say that he was one who secured the respect of all from his honourable character, and who was so fortunate, though engaged in politics, to incur less than the usual share of animosity. (Hear, hear.) I was honoured by receiving the invitation from

your Council to dine with you to-night on my retirement from that body on account of my approaching departure to India ; and I am most happy to have been one of Sir Arthur Blyth's audience. It is most interesting to me to hear antithetically stated the cause of the progress of that flourishing Colony of South Australia. It is a little more than eleven years since I entered it as Governor, and from that time the population has increased by 80 per cent., the trade has doubled, and the cultivated area has increased by 150 per cent. Those simple figures given by Sir Arthur Blyth speak volumes for the energy of the inhabitants and the progress which under the legislation of the Colony has taken place. I am not going to say that the legislation was always exactly that which I would have passed had I had my own way ; but probably it is not the less suited to the Colony, because the people in the Colony know their own wants best ; and I have no doubt they look at it all the better from being free from too much home prepossessions. (Hear, hear.) If they make mistakes they know how to retrace their steps ; and as Sir Arthur Blyth has said, if amendments on the land legislation are from time to time passed, it shows that they are not so foolish as to think that the work of their hands is already perfection. (Hear, hear.) Now we see a happy and industrious population accumulating wealth with surprising rapidity. We see their great province a most valuable customer of this country ; and I think we see undiminished that loyalty which grows to a passion when it crosses the sea, which unites such growing provinces to the mother-country, by ties far stronger than any measure of coercion, and which in future time will I believe render these great children of our mother-country not only customers but perhaps allies and protectors. (Hear, hear.) Sir Arthur Blyth's paper is comprehensive and almost exhaustive ; but I think that in one or two things he has hardly done justice to his subject. He has pointed with justifiable pride to the admirable system of primary schools which are designed to reach the farthest settler ; but he has not mentioned the university for which I think South Australia is also entitled to credit. It was in no spirit of arrogance that South Australia established a university even on the same continent where Melbourne and Sydney already enjoyed valuable institutions of the same kind ; but it was felt that to make the Colonies thoroughly self-supporting its youth ought to have within its own bounds access to the highest branches of education ; and by the munificence of its own colonists it has been furnished with an admirable teaching establishment. (Hear, hear.) When I mention that two individuals have each contributed £20,000 for the endowment of

scholarships, you will not say that I have used too strong a word. (Hear, hear.) Sir Arthur Blyth has mentioned that the railways may now be said to be self-supporting. Well, after leaving South Australia I passed some years in New Zealand, where I found railways were pushed forward with even greater rapidity than in South Australia. Some people think that New Zealand has gone on too fast, and that all our Colonies have been too eager to borrow in the English market. I can only say I wish the English people had always turned their money to so good an account—(hear, hear)—and I am not afraid that in the end they will be found to have gone on too fast. (Hear, hear.) Sir Julius Vogel used to point out what he and I consider a great fallacy that existed on the part of those who insisted on the necessity of a railway in a new country paying its own expenses. He said, "You don't ask if a turnpike road will pay its way; we want railways to open up the country, and that is why we make them so fast." (Hear, hear.) If the railways in Australia did not yield a profit upon their construction immediately, I would ask whether the railways in America pay the cost of their construction? In America it is the practice, in order to get the area opened up, for the State to make free grants of land to the railway, giving alternate blocks on either side the railway, and retaining the others for the State; and their railways are accustomed to pay the cost of construction by selling those blocks to settlers, and they can thus afford to carry the traffic at a rate somewhat less than its actual cost. Now, in our Colonies the Government retains the land in its own hands and sells it out to settlers; so, even if it is not able to work the railways at a profit, or even to get no interest for years, it is able to sell the land to ready settlers, who in many ways contribute to the revenue and the prosperity of the country, and I say that that enterprise is even economical; and I think it is not difficult to show, if only by the statistics submitted to us to-night, that in that enterprise the Government of South Australia has been eminently successful. (Cheers.) No one could wish that Colony more success than I do. Some of the happiest years of my life were spent there, though not unchequered. I shall always entertain a grateful remembrance of the pleasant associations enjoyed by me with those amongst whom I lived; and I wish it a future as bright and happy as I firmly believe it deserves and will obtain. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTGARTH: This paper is one of the best we have ever had before us. South Australia was my next-door neighbour—I belonged to Victoria. I went out there about five years after those two Colonies commenced life, and I was much interested in

*Agricultural Land, and her recent Industrial Progress.*

watching their progress. They both marched pretty fairly abreast for the first fifteen or sixteen years, until the discovery of gold in Victoria gave that Colony a special impetus which, in the late Mr. Wentworth's phrase, precipitated her into a nation. But although Victoria had for the time that piece of good fortune, we have heard from Sir Arthur Blyth how her sister brought up lee-way with steady, solid work of spade and plough, and gained in the end a solid reward. The outpouring of gold which at first gave Victoria such impetus has latterly much fallen off. In 1856, the sixth year of gold digging, the enormous amount of twelve millions of gold was exported, besides other produce; and now that has been falling off since 1856, until I see that the last year's amount is somewhat under three millions, while during all this time South Australia has been steadily plodding onwards, like the tortoise and the hare of the old story, until she has gone considerably ahead of Victoria in, at all events, the solid work of agricultural produce. I was delighted to hear that last year the Colony produced so magnificent a spare supply as 400,000 tons of wheat for export. Sir Arthur Blyth referred to the Bullion Act of South Australia, on which he considerably dilated because it is an interesting incident in his Colony's history. I was in Victoria at that time, and had occasion to notice this Bullion Act in my capacity as Chairman of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce. We young people in those early times were pleased with such chances of a hit at our neighbours and rivals, and I suppose the younger we and our Colony both were, the more we enjoyed that sort of thing. But, any way, we took upon ourselves to condemn this Bullion Act, and, no doubt, for some very strong reasons. That Act, for which, as Sir Arthur admits, there was no authority whatever, almost immediately sent the British sovereign into the price current, where, as so much goods, it was quoted at 5 per cent. premium upon this new money, and the emigrants and others arriving in South Australia with credits in sterling money were compelled to take this comparatively depreciated money of South Australia, and they naturally grumbled very much at such a breach of engagement. And also there was that which we other Australians outside ought not to have complained of, and I dare say we did not, namely, that the South Australian Act enabled us to sell our gold, which in Melbourne cost only £3 to £3 8s., at £3 11s. in Adelaide, the consequence being that we promptly sent large quantities of it to Adelaide to buy up South Australian merchandise. Well, I have said this; but while we seemed bound officially to condemn the Act, I must say that there has always



been a lurking feeling in my mind that the Colony was right notwithstanding. Sir Arthur Blyth has given good reasons why they passed this Act, and they are very weighty indeed. There was a social disturbance by the emigration of very many of the colonists to Victoria, and by the taking with them most of the money of the place and causing a ruinous depreciation of property, and an immediate restriction of all usual financial facilities and accommodations. The prompt passing of this Act indeed arrested most timely a great social upturning, an evil which is not to be measured by considerations of mere profit or loss for the time. Therefore, I think that the colonists had a very strong and special case for this Act, and that covers all its sins. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ALFRED HENRIQUES : I do not pretend to be an expert in Australian matters, and cannot claim any special knowledge upon the subject ; still, as I am interested in the welfare of the Colonies, I trust the meeting will let me make a few remarks on the paper. Speaking as a lawyer, the part that interested me most was that which referred to the land laws of South Australia. It appears to me that that part of the paper ought to receive the widest publicity, on two grounds. First, at the present day we hear a great deal about the alteration of laws concerning land in this country. Now, I believe the best model that we have is the model to be found in South Australia. I am well acquainted with the Torrens system, and that, I believe, is the finest system of land registration that has ever been put into practice. But, referring to the general principle of legislation which Sir Arthur Blyth explained to-night, it appears that the welfare of the community and making land the most valuable commodity in the country were the two great objects that the Legislature had in passing those laws ; and I think that a lawyer or a layman would be very bold if he were to apply those principles to the land laws of this country. On the contrary, it appears to me that the great difference is this, that the welfare of a community generally is not considered in the land laws of England, and that the welfare and prosperity of the whole people is properly provided for and considered in the land laws of this Colony. Besides that point of view, there is another. I am quite convinced that none of the proposed changes in regard to the land laws of England will ever succeed, because they are too much hampered by feudalism and the laws of entail, which the majority of the aristocracy who hold the land here will never forego or abandon. Therefore, I believe the more the land laws of South Australia are known, the better it would be for those concerned in the land—viz., the agriculturist and the farmers ;

because I can assume that no alteration of the land laws of England would give them what is wanted, that is free land to cultivate according to their own desires. Therefore, I hope that part of the paper will be freely circulated wherever it can have the greatest influence. Another point extremely interesting was that which he said concerning education; and I must differ from Sir James Fergusson in saying that the establishment of universities was more interesting than the establishment of primary schools. I rather believe that what Sir Arthur Blyth has put forth as being the most important——

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I did not say so; I only said Sir Arthur Blyth might have added it to his paper.

Mr. HENRIQUES: I am glad to accept the amendment. The establishment of universities would arise out of the surplus wealth of the community; the establishment of the primary schools is always a sacrifice in new Colonies, and it is the sacrifice of that which is most valuable—the sacrifice of labour, because we know the child's labour is valuable in all communities; and in the establishment of these primary schools a community makes a sacrifice of that. Therefore, I say the establishment of primary schools is a significant fact with regard to that community. That point brings me to another—that is, what may be the future of this Colony; and you must excuse me at the present day in referring to this, because we hear from that political party with which I am connected—the Liberal party—that they think little of the Colonies—(no, no)—that they are disposed to exclaim, "Perish the Colonies" as well as "Perish India." (No, no.) Well, we have heard it said so. I think it is important that every Colony, and especially the Australian Colonies, should express their own views properly on this subject, and place them before the English public; and I think the old illustration of parent and children amply suffices for the occasion. I can quite understand when the child is sufficiently independent, and feels its own strength, saying to the parent, "Father, I wish to be free from you;" but the converse I cannot understand either on the side of morality or justice. I believe this country can never separate herself from the Colonies, although the time may come when the Colonies may wish to separate themselves from her. (No, no.) I wish that day may be long distant, and that they may ever remain contented and allied with us. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS: I am sorry to have to follow the last speaker, because I have the misfortune to differ from him in almost every word he has said—(laughter)—and I venture to say that, if

he was as well acquainted as he professes to be with the land laws of South Australia or the land laws of this country, and the various laws of social and political economy affecting those land laws, he would not have said what he has ; because to compare a new country, where nearly the whole of the land belongs to the Crown—and the Crown has only to say on what terms and conditions it would alienate the land to the people, and under what system of transfer that land should be dealt with after—with an old country established nearly twice as many centuries as South Australia has been established decades, where the land entirely belongs to private persons, and where hitherto the rights of property have been respected ;—and, unless the political party with which he says he is identified should get into power and carry out his ideas, I consider that, until that occurs, the rights of property in this country will continue to be respected ; therefore, to compare the land question in a new country like South Australia with that in an old country like England, appears to me to be arguing without any regard whatever to the material points bearing upon the case. (Hear, hear.) I had hoped I might have been able to congratulate this Institute on having had one meeting without any reference whatever to that most admirable question, which anybody can twaddle about, especially after dinner, the question of “the permanent unity of the Empire”—(hear, hear)—but the last speaker has deprived me of the opportunity of making that congratulation to the Institute, and especially to the Council. Now, as to the future of the Colony of South Australia, I hold with the rule of Mr. Artemus Ward, “Never prophesy unless you know.” (Laughter.) I have said so before, and I say it again, I do not know what the future will be, and therefore I will not profess to say what I think it will be. But there are a few points in Sir Arthur Blyth’s paper to which I should wish to direct attention. I have read the paper we have heard this evening when it was in the rough proof, and I see the paper read to-night has been, since I read it in the rough, subjected to necessary corrections, and therefore nearly all the corrections I proposed to make in the paper will have been rendered unnecessary ; but I think Sir Arthur Blyth has not placed before us as fully as he might have done some of the matters dealt with in South Australia. In the first place, he points out that in 1869 there were only about £35,000 a year spent out of the public revenues upon education ; and he points out further, that in the year 1878 there were about £153,000 spent. Those two figures catch the ear of the audience ; but in 1869 we spent £35,000, and in 1878 £150,000. Sir Arthur Blyth,

however, suggests that in 1869 they were not spending nearly as much in South Australia as they did in older countries in proportion to their income. Now I have taken the trouble to compare the amount spent in 1869 in South Australia and the amount spent in this country about the same time ; and having regard to the income of South Australia—the national income of South Australia—and the national income of this country, I find that in 1869 the Government of South Australia were then spending upon the subject of primary education rather more than double the amount that was spent in this country at the same time, and I can say that that had been done for many years previously. (Hear, hear.) I do not object to any remarks made, but I think that when you make comparisons those comparisons should be correct ; and it should be borne in mind that, of the £153,000 spent last year or in 1878 upon education, a very large part of that, as Sir Arthur Blyth says, has been spent upon schoolhouses. (Hear, hear.) Now, in respect to the erection of schoolhouses in South Australia, I am sure Sir Arthur Blyth will bear me out in this, for we were both in the Legislature together. He was at one time one of my colleagues ; and at one time, I think I may say, he had the bad taste to be my opponent. (Laughter.) But when he was not my colleague I was his opponent. (Renewed laughter.) But both of us know something about the way in which these things were worked in South Australia, and we both know that there is a mode of dealing with these questions that is colonially termed “log-rolling.” (Laughter.) I remember one part of the House would say, “If you want a school in your district you shall not have it unless you give one to my district.” And if the Government requires to get one schoolhouse built in one locality, they have not only to provide the funds for the schoolhouse wanted by the public, but they have to provide funds for the half a dozen schoolhouses wanted by the members and not by the public. (Hear, hear.) And I gather from several gentlemen who have come over from South Australia lately, that in respect to this large expenditure that is taking place upon education, the people are beginning to think, as we are of the School Board in London, that they are spending a great deal too much money in the cause of education. The fact is, they have fixed upon the whole community the cost of doing the work of providing a nominal elementary education for people who are well able to provide that education for themselves. That is to say, that history is repeating itself both as regards the London School Board and that of South Australia, and both are getting into the same mess. Next I come to

the subject of Railways. Sir James Fergusson has pointed out the advantages that America has derived from granting tracts of land to public companies who construct the railways, in order that they may recoup themselves for their outlay by sale of the land. Now, there is a line from Gawler to Kapunda, and I will show how Sir James Fergusson's argument works out there. That line was made to the well-known Kapunda mine. Many people said it was not necessary, and would not pay, and for many years it did not pay its outlay directly, and the expenses of working it were larger than the amount received directly from the revenue from it. But what was the result? The construction of that railway from Gawler to Kapunda led to the settlement of the whole of the county, and the amount that was received by Government for the sale of land in that county of Light was more than the whole amount that the Government had paid for the construction of that line of railway. (Hear, hear.) I think Sir James Fergusson may remember enough of the details to say I am correct in that; and it shows precisely how amply the Government of South Australia are repaid by constructing works of this kind to open up new country. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid, however, that railways are not quite so profitable in South Australia as we might wish—that is, directly; but when you remember the great towns that are springing up now in the whole of this country which is newly settled, you will see in the whole of that country that the construction of these lines of railway is repaying the Government most handsomely. I have not the information to enable me to speak as accurately of the details of the whole of South Australia as I have of the county of Light, but I know it to be a fact that the amount received by the Government for the sale of land in the last few years, including the amount now due to them for the sale on credit, is considerably more than the amount they have spent on the lines of railway that are constructed, and which they will have to spend on lines now in course of construction, in order to open up communication with the tracts of country in which those lands are situated. Ten years ago Port Pirie, which Sir Arthur Blyth has mentioned, was not known at all; it had no existence; it was waste land, and the whole of the tracts of Yorke's Peninsula, which Sir Arthur Blyth has pointed out as one of the best wheat-growing districts in the Colony, was a sheep run from one end to the other, with the exception of a few small market gardens. At the commencement of 1869 there was not a single acre of land in that part under cultivation. Under the Land Act which bears my name I advised the Governor to proclaim down at the southern

part of Yorke's Peninsula, and Sir James Fergusson did so, an "agricultural area:" every one of the squatters in that part declared there was not a single acre of land suitable for agricultural occupation, and yet ten years after this Sir Arthur Blyth is able to come to tell you that there is not a finer wheat-growing district in South Australia. (Hear, hear.) I mention this because it shows that what has been done in the south is now being done in the north. When I entered South Australia first there was no cultivated land north of Gawler Town. Nearly the whole of the cultivated land did not extend farther north than Gawler; across the plains of Adelaide; in the Mount Baker district; the Willunga Plains; and another tract of cultivated land down in the Encounter Bay district. Those were the only parts of South Australia that were then cultivated. You have been told this evening the distance to which the cultivated land now extends; and I point out that, because it is one of the most wonderful things in connection with South Australia and the whole Australian continent, that as civilisation goes farther into the interior the area of cultivation extends also; that is, the area which is said to be unfit for cultivation, when you try, you will find it will grow produce. (Hear, hear.) I see that in the interior of South Australia, in the middle of the Continent, in the immediate neighbourhood of Central Mount Stuart, which Sir Roderick Murchison and other geological authorities in this country said was below the level of the sea—but, instead of that, the country is found to be nearly of the elevation of 8,000 feet above the sea—some Moravian missionaries up there have grown a good crop of wheat almost in the actual centre of the continent. (Laughter.) I see by later advice that in the far interior of the continent, on the border between South Australia and Queensland where the country was declared to be unfit for anything, they have discovered a large tract of a rich deep soil of either alluvial or volcanic origin. So that we have every reason to believe that in every part of the Australian continent, with the exception of some few spots such as are to be found in all parts of the world, the more civilisation goes into the interior the more land will be found fit for cultivation. I will allude to one point of considerable interest to South Australia: that is, the wine question, which has always been a very sore subject with me. Some of my constituents in South Australia were wine-growers, and one of them was indignant with me because I would not drink his wine. (Laughter.) I told him I would do anything else for him I could, but drink his wine I would not. No doubt some of the wine made there is of the very best description, and you cannot get better

wine in any part of the world than that you get in South Australia, and I don't know any part of the world where you can get worse wine. (Laughter.) One of the reasons of that is—and perhaps Sir Arthur Blyth will make a note of it and send it out to Australia—that the prizes out there are awarded by judges who are a sort of mutual admiration society. (Laughter.) Nearly every one of the judges is a competitor for the prizes, and they have never refused to give a prize for their own wine. (Loud laughter.) As long as that continues you cannot expect to get good wine. Another point is to be considered by Australian wine-growers. I was told by a Spanish gentleman of large experience that any quantity of the best Spanish wine that one could wish to drink can be placed on board ship for about sixteen pence per gallon. Whilst that can be done, I do not think that South Australia would be able to compete in the London market. But there is another point in consequence of which South Australia cannot at present compete, and that is, that it is of no use sending home small samples of wine. A hundred dozen of wine would be consumed in two or three public luncheon rooms in London in one day. I have known two or three instances in which a sample of most excellent wine of one hundred dozen or so was sent over ; the sale has soon been effected, and the seller had no more, and could get no more, to replace it. The other point is connected with the construction of the Central Australian Telegraph ; and, with respect to that, I can say, on the authority of a very cautious member of the South Australian Legislature—a Scotchman, too, and therefore not likely to be led away by any high-flown ideas or anything of that kind—that the construction of that telegraph, although it cost more than £400,000, repaid to the Colony in the first year of its construction the whole of the outlay, in the amount saved or secured to the farmers by the large sums that they were able to obtain by the sale of their wheat through being able to communicate quickly with other parts of the world, and by this means to charter ships to carry the wheat away. (Loud cheers.)

MR. SIDNEY MONTEFIORE : With regard to the mutual admiration system which takes place when there is a meeting of colonists, it is a common thing always to say how gradually the Colonies have improved and persevered, what wonderful strides they have made in their cultivation and progress. Now I admit, and everybody must admit, that they have progressed wonderfully and vastly ; but it is well to pause and think. I have been connected with the Australian Colonies for thirty years, and it is remarkable to observe the small progress made by those Colonies. I cannot think they

have progressed, because, if we compare the progress of some of the Colonies of Australia with some of the "districts" of America, where the population is comparatively sparsely distributed throughout an immense continent, we find that, in one particular instance, say Columbia, which is parallel with Victoria—we find that they have progressed in everything more rapidly than the Colonies of Australia. Now, is that right when the Colonies of Australia are backed up by such a grand and great nation as Great Britain? (No, no.) I think not. I must say that one of the causes which has always struck me with reference to the absence of the great progress which is still regarded as wanting in these Colonies, is due to the want of a reciprocal policy between the two countries to help to advance those Colonies that are on the other side of Australia. One of the things we may take into consideration is the establishment of independent Constitutions for Colonies. It is a question of whether, having established that, and granting that to the Colonies, the Home Government had not omitted to make certain provisos with regard to emigration and the sale of public lands in Colonies. I think if this had been done a great increase in the population of the Colonies would have been the result, when we notice that during the last ten years the population of South Australia has increased by 60,000. We cannot help thinking that that is an ordinary increase, and not from immigration; and that it is necessary in all Colonies to develop the resources of such great tracts of country as are possessed by the several Colonies of Australia. When we look, again, to the amount of land under cultivation, we have 1,400,000 acres under cultivation of wheat, but at the same time we have a tract of country of 850 millions of acres, so that not more than one quarter per cent. apparently has been cultivated. That does not show much progress, when we compare the trade done with the trade that might be established in the Colony had a good system of immigration been going on, to have a population at all adequate in comparison with some populations of America that have increased so largely within a similar number of years that is taken into account in the very able paper that Sir Arthur Blyth has read. I think it is a subject that should be brought before our statesmen in support of a system of emigration consistent with the importance of the subject between the Colonies and the mother-country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WALTER HALLY BURTON: Sir Arthur Blyth has assumed—and the assumption has been supported by a subsequent speaker—that the tariff of this country is against the introduction of Australian wine. Now I venture to say—and my opinion is founded on



a practical experience of over twenty years in tasting and selling Australian wines in this country—that there could not be a greater fallacy than the idea that the British tariff is unfavourable to our Colonial produce; and I know of nothing more likely to retard this particular industry, and more calculated to lead the wine-growers astray, than the belief that our tariff is antagonistic, and that, therefore, no progress can be made till some relaxation is made in favour of their wines. The wines of Australia are already admitted on the same footing as the pure wines of any other part of the world; and those who are agitating for an alteration which would admit more spirit in wine are, in my opinion, those wine-makers who fail to make good and pure wine, and try to cover the defects of their manufacture by the addition of alcohol. This country does not want, and will not have, alcoholised wine. The demand is for light, pure wine. Australia can produce it to any extent, and I may safely say that an almost unlimited market can be found for it here. I mean by light, pure wine, the natural product of the grape, which as a rule never exceeds the strength of 26 per cent. of proof spirit. The taste for such wine is rapidly growing in this country; and if the wine-growers of Australia would only follow this taste, instead of sending us, as some of them do, imitations of the fortified wines of Spain and Portugal, a ready sale for their produce could be easily obtained. And it is because I believe that the alteration in the duty asked for would encourage the importation of defective and spurious wines, and so destroy the rapidly advancing reputation of many of the wines now imported, that I have, at this late hour, troubled you with these remarks.

The Hon. C. BURNEY YOUNG: Might I ask Mr. Burton whether he meant fortified wines?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Youl): The wines are not alcoholised, for I have had wine sent over from Australia, shipped direct from the grower, and nobody would distinguish it from the best foreign wine unless it had brandy in it, and the wines sent over from Australia have a natural alcoholic taste owing to the beautiful sun and the climate.

The Hon. C. BURNEY YOUNG: I say the wines sent from Australia are perfectly pure wines, and that they give off frequently 80 to 82 per cent. of spirit, and that they are perfectly pure without any additional spirit whatever; and as to the question of the reduction of duty being favourable to the growers of Australia, there can be no question whatever.

Mr. BURTON: I repeat and assert that the wines from Australia, or anywhere else, exceeding 26 degrees of proof spirit are, as a rule, fortified by alcohol.

Mr. J. B. MONTEFIORE : After the excellent and comprehensive paper that has been read by my friend Sir Arthur Blyth, with the able discussion that followed upon the subjects on which it treated, it would be presumption in me to make any other remark ; but, as a wind-up to those dry remarks consequent upon the subject, something a little refreshing may prove valuable to those who intend to emigrate to, as well as to all interested in, South Australia. That it should be made known to the general public, I therefore purpose reading an extract from a letter just received. But, before doing so, I beg to preface it by stating that the letter is not from one who has just landed from on board ship, where sea and sky might have been his lot for 40 or 50 days, but from an old colonist of nearly 38 years' standing, and therefore describes that of which he was an eye-witness :—" Adelaide, November 11, 1879. Our harvest prospects continue good. Gumeracha, where I was last week, looks like a lovely part of England. Furze bush, hedges, sweet-brier, and dog-roses everywhere all round the fields ; pasture luxuriant for twenty odd miles ; cattle fit for show ; oaks, willows, elms, white and pink May, growing as luxuriantly as I ever saw in England. It was raining softly—a drizzle—and I could, with the running brooks and forest trees of the Old Country about me, imagine myself at home again."

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : I should like to make one remark on a passage that occurs in Sir Arthur Blyth's paper. He mentions, in reference to the wine trade of Australia, that it is well deserving a special evening for its consideration. I will venture to remind him and the members of this Institute that we had a paper three years ago read by Mr. Fallon, who is an expert on this very question of the wines of Australia. I had the honour of presiding on that occasion, and we had an important discussion on the subject afterwards. The question of the Australian wine trade is too important to be discussed by that one paper, and we shall be happy if we can get another from any gentleman as well acquainted with the wine trade as Mr. Fallon is, to resume the consideration of this important subject on some future occasion. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. James A. Youl, C.M.G.) : It now becomes my duty to make a few remarks on the paper which has been read by Sir Arthur Blyth to-night, and I regret exceedingly for your sakes that His Grace the Duke of Manchester is not in the chair. I have been called upon at the last moment, as one of the oldest members of the Council, to preside, and am therefore not so prepared as I should wish to be to speak upon the important subject brought before the meeting. You will recollect that Mr. Trollope, the great

novelist, went out to the Australian Colonies, and wrote a book. One of the prominent features of this book was that the colonists were in the habit of blowing their own trumpets to a great degree. Now I assert that to-night there has been no sign of anything like "blowing"; for sufficient justice has hardly been done to the singular advantages possessed by South Australia, either in the paper read to-night, or in the remarks of Sir James Fergusson and other distinguished colonists, or in those of Mr. Strangways, to whom the Colony is indebted for the active and effective steps he took to establish the telegraphic line, which has made Adelaide the centre of communication between the whole of Australia and the rest of the world—(hear, hear)—and to whom sufficient recognition has never been made for this valuable work. (Hear, hear.) My reason for asserting this is, that I consider the land laws of South Australia and the country itself offer peculiar facilities for enabling the farmers of England to become holders of land within a reasonable time by their own industry and forethought. At this moment while our farmers are in such distress, and do not know where to emigrate, here is a splendid farming country ready for them to take advantage of, and under the flag of England. (Hear, hear.) I never was in South Australia, but I know from persons residing there what a splendid Colony it is. A friend of mine, Mr. Anstie, had a farm some nine or ten miles from Adelaide, on an elevation of about 500 feet above the level of the sea, and in his garden he declared to me that there were growing raspberries, gooseberries, bananas, pine-apples, strawberries, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and many other fruits, and that in their proper season all arrived at the greatest perfection. There is no doubt it is also a wine-growing country, and from my experience I cannot help saying that I think Mr. Burton is mistaken in stating that the colonists are in the habit of fortifying their wines with alcohol. There is one further point which might have been touched upon by the reader of the paper, and that is, the immense extent of South Australia, which stretches across the continent north and south from sea to sea, and which will most certainly be opened up in a short time by a railway following the line of telegraph. The colonists deserve great credit for the wonderful energy they have displayed in developing their country—(hear, hear)—which produces the finest wheat in the whole world, averaging on the virgin soil 25 to 40 bushels per acre. Owing to improper treatment the yield has been reduced from 10 to 12 bushels per acre. A better system of farming would undoubtedly restore the fertility of the land, and the best chance of this would be the introduction of skilled English

farmers. (Hear, hear.) I beg to move a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Blyth for his able and interesting paper, which I think comes before us at a very opportune time, when the farmers of England are in such distress, and know not where to go to better their position. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Sir ARTHUR BLYTH, K.C.M.G. : I will not weary the meeting at this late hour by taking up their time long. One object I had in the preparation of this paper was to leave out as far as I possibly could any reference to special efforts of any particular South Australian colonists. The energy and abilities of South Australian colonists have been shown in a remarkable way. I avoided coupling the name of Mr. Tinline with the Bullion Act, of Mr. Strangways and the telegraph across the continent, because all those things are pretty well known to persons who have resided in South Australia. (Hear, hear.) I suppose that no one has ever read a paper at this Institute without feeling after the discussion that it could have been made better than it was. I could have told you something about the Hospitals of Adelaide, of which we have reason to be proud ; and I could have taken you to the Botanical Gardens and kept you there a long time, and much interested you by those excellent Gardens. (Hear, hear.) If I have failed in any one thing, it is in pointing out with respect to the farmers in South Australia, that their labour and work for the most part have been accomplished by simple labourers, who have got out there without any very great education, but with strong, active limbs, and with an amount of energy which it is necessary to employ to induce them to take such a step ; and for such in almost any number the colonists are open, and they would be only too glad to welcome them if they would go out there. (Hear, hear.) But there is a jealousy on the question of emigration, in spending large sums of money on free emigration there. There is a great belief on the part of many that the wages would be reduced by such a course ; instead of which a healthy stream of emigration to a new country is essential to its development and prosperity. (Hear, hear.) I have to thank you for the great attention which you have paid to my paper, and the kind way in which you have received me. (Loud cheers.)

## SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at St. James's Hall, Regent-street, W., on Tuesday, 20th April, 1880. His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P., Chairman of Council, presided. Amongst those present were the following :—

Colonel Sir George P. Colley, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G. (Governor of Natal), Sir Alex. T. Galt, G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada in London), Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., The Right Rev. Bishop Perry, D.D. (late of Melbourne), Professor Vambéry (of Pesth), Professor Chinery, Sir Charles Stirling, Bart., Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., Messrs. Arthur Grote, H. W. Freeland. Lady Musgrave, Messrs. W. Musgrave, J. D. Wood, W. H. Mare (Newfoundland), A. Hodgson Phillpotts, J. D. Thomson, W. M. Allport (Jamaica), S. W. Silver, Thomas Daniel Hill (West Indies), George H. Chambers (West Indies), Joseph Bravo (Jamaica), Lord Reay, Major-General Lowry, C.B., Setna E. Manockjee (Bombay), Messrs. Hastings C. Huggins (British Guiana) W. Sherman Turner, J. V. Crawford (late H.B.M. Consul, Havannah), W. G. Lardner, John H. Fitt (Barbados), J. Edghill, C. F. Bennett (Newfoundland), Edmund Field (British Guiana), Hon. Adam Crooks, Q.C. (Minister of Education, Ontario, Canada), Messrs. D. C. Da Costa (Barbados), W. P. Clarke (Barbados), Benjamin Inniss (Barbados), T. Yearwood (Barbados), H. A. de Colyar, G. Pitt Lewis, — Stutfield, J. Gibson Starke, M.A. (late District Judge, Jamaica), James A. Youl, C.M.G., Thomas Routledge, Captain Charles Mills, C.M.G. (Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Colony), Messrs. Alfred G. Henriques, E. A. Wallace, Edward Chapman (Sydney), Miss Chapman, Messrs. J. S. Southlan (Sydney), Allan C. McCalman (British Guiana), J. Ashwood (West Africa), Victor A. Taylor, W. R. Campbell, M. B. Isaacs, Cecil H. C. Goffe (Jamaica), John H. Blockley, Miss Marshall, Messrs. J. W. P. Jauralde, Thomas W. Irvine (Cape Colony), A. Jauralde, Neville Lubbock (West Indies), Alexander Turnbull (Jamaica), Miss Turnbull (Jamaica), Miss Clark (Jamaica), Miss B. Clark (Jamaica), Messrs. James Loughland, James B. Dunlop, A. Thibaudeau (Canada), John Marshall, Miss Budgett, Miss Bird, Messrs. J. G. Poole (Cape Colony), F. P. Labilliere, Alexander Donaldson (Jamaica), John South, Francis A. Gwynne (Melbourne), A. Landale (Melbourne), F. E. Metcalfe, (New Zealand), Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia), Messrs. H. G. Gurney, J. Snell, G. Boothby, H. E. Montgomerie, R. L. Verley, F.R.C.P. (Jamaica), Adrian A. Robinson (Jamaica), W. S. Wetherell, S. H. Lowe, Charles Bischoff (British Columbia), T. W. Bischoff (British Columbia), John B. Martin, J. L. Ohlson (Secretary West India Committee), J. Treeve Edgcombe (Ceylon), A. G. Thomson (Ceylon), H. J. Le Cren (New Zealand), Charles S. Roundell, M.P., J. Beaumont, F. W. Hyde (Cape Colony), W. T. Deverell, H. F. Shipster, J. MacPherson, Arthur Fell, W. M. Fraser (Ceylon), J. Bruce (Cape Colony) Robert Fauntleroy, J.P. (Jamaica), Mrs. Fauntleroy, Messrs. Phillip Stern (Jamaica), F. W. Warren (Jamaica), Charles Guthrie, James

Kemp (Tasmania), N. Nelson, J. V. Irwin, W. Rankin, Charles N. Phillips, Augustus Alexander, Peter Sturridge (Jamaica), Sidney Martin, Major Lempriere and Mrs. Lempriere, Mr. Lempriere, Mrs. J. H. Fitt (Barbados), Miss Appleton, Mr. N. C. Sendall, Captain Philp, Messrs. S. H. Richard, Robert Dalglish, Wm. Reid, Miss Sharpe, Miss J. Sharpe (late St. Vincent), Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Antigua, Messrs. W. Moore Bell, Edward Morrice, Ernest H. Gough and Miss Gough, James B. Dunlop, P. Symmonds Gye, G. Arber, Dr. Underhill, Mr. J. Q. Henriques, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Simons (Jamaica), Dr. B. Arcedeckne Duncan, Messrs. C. Kingsley (Melbourne), T. Cravstown, V. G. Bell, A. McKerrow, J. I. Ingold, F. W. Hill, George Heath, Ernest C. Carby, Rev. Brymer Belcher, Messrs. R. Summerford Mendey, D. J. Alberga and Eugene Alberga (Jamaica), James Clark, — Searth, Charles Levy, W. T. Thiselton Dyer, H. Konigs, T. S. Oldham, S. Morrice, A. Aria, Mr. and Mrs. Garcia, Captain the Hon. R. Talbot, Major and Mrs. Allinson, Captain Farquharson, Dr. Woakes, Messrs. Arnold Woakes, William Farquharson, J. H. Symon, James Hay, D. N. Samson, Joseph Brown, Q.C., John Kirkness, Captain A. Law, Captain and Mrs. Corbett, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Wingfield, Messrs. A. Nathan, Eustace Gregg, Francis Chalmers, S. N. Canaked, W. F. Roberts, Lady Torrens, Mrs. de Colyar, Miss Newman, Messrs. Stephen Bourne, Colin M. Gillespie, William Gillespie, G. P. Metcalfe, G. E. Waller, Mrs. John Holmes, Miss Lyon, Mrs. J. Gibson Starke, Hon. H. Nathan (late M.L.C. British Columbia), Dr. Eugene Hulbrsch, Dr. Hilebraud, Mr. C. Marsh Driver, R.N., Mrs. and Miss Driver, Miss FitzGerald, the Rev. D. J. East (Jamaica), Messrs. B. A. Franklin, James J. MacFadyen, Frank J. Snell, James Langbland, C. J. Youl, Alan Lambert, Miss Young, Miss Ada Mary Young, Mr. Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.), &c.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the Fifth Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting the following gentlemen had been elected :—

As Resident-Fellows :—

Thomas McKellar, Esq., Matthew Hill, Esq., W. M. Allport, Esq., F. H. Dangar, Esq.

As Non-Resident Fellows :—

M. C. Morgan, Esq., Jamaica, Walter H. Allport, Esq., Jamaica, George Perch, Esq., Barbados, W. D. Burrige, Esq., Trinidad.

The following donations of books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last meeting, were announced :—

By the Government of Canada :

Parliamentary Blue Books, 1879, and Papers, 1880.

By the Government of the Cape of Good Hope :

Acts of Parliament, 1879. Votes and Proceedings, 6 vols.

By the Government of Ceylon :

Administrative Reports, 1878.

By the Government of New South Wales :

Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80.

- By the Government of New Zealand :  
Parliamentary Debates and Papers, 1879.
- By the Government of South Australia :  
Parliamentary Papers, 1879, 4 vols.
- By the Agent-General for Victoria :  
Victorian Year Book, 1878-79.
- By the University of the Cape of Good Hope :  
Cape of Good Hope University Calendar, 1880.
- By the Victorian Institute :  
Journals and Transactions of the Institute, 1879-80.
- By the Plymouth Free Library :  
Third Report of the Free Library.
- By the Royal Geographical Society :  
Proceedings of the Society, April, 1880, Vol. ii. No. 4.
- By the Anthropological Institute :  
Journal of the Institute, No. 3. Vol. ix.
- By the Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham :  
Occasional Papers, Vol. iii. No. 2.
- By J. G. Bourinot :  
The "Canadian Monthly," and "Bystander," March, 1880.
- By the Canada Company :  
Cunningham's History of New South Wales, 2 vols., 1827.
- By Dr. John Chapman :  
Westminster Review, April, 1880.
- By Hyde Clarke, Esq. :  
On the Yarra Dialect and Languages of Australia.
- By Messrs. Dalgleish and Reed :  
Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.
- By Samuel Deering, Esq. :  
South Australia Directory, 1880.
- By Edwin Gilpin, Esq. :  
Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, 1879.
- By H. H. Hayter, Esq. :  
Statistical Register of Victoria, Parts 8 & 9.
- By Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, K.C.M.G. :  
Eucalyptographia. Fifth decade, 1880.
- By Governor William Robinson, C.M.G. :  
Report on the Blue Book of the Bahamas, 1879.
- By Lt.-Colonel T. B. Strange, R.A. :  
The Military Aspect of Canada.
- By Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G. :  
Statistical and Chronological Chart of New Zealand from  
the foundation of the Colony to 31st. Dec., 1878.
- By Lt.-Col. William White :  
Canadian Blue Books, 1879.

His Grace the CHAIRMAN then called upon Sir Anthony Musgrave, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica, to read the following Paper :—

## JAMAICA: NOW, AND FIFTEEN YEARS SINCE.

WHEN it was first mentioned to me that the contribution of a paper would be acceptable for one of the monthly meetings of the Colonial Institute, the subject suggested was the present condition of the West Indies generally. I at once felt that I had not knowledge sufficient to deal with so wide a range. The West Indian Colonies possess in common certain features, in that they are all in the tropics—they all are sugar colonies, more or less—and the bulk of their population are negroes, whose progenitors were slaves. In some respects, however, their circumstances and their characteristics are very different; and Jamaica especially is very unlike the other British possessions in the Caribbean Sea; notably so in the greater variety of climate which her mountainous ranges afford, and in the extent and variety of her productive resources, which perhaps are unsurpassed in any tropical possession of Great Britain. With regard to Jamaica, however, I thought that a residence of two years in the colony, with all the advantages for acquiring information which my official position afforded, should enable me to speak with some confidence at least as to ascertained facts, and inferences which may fairly be drawn from them.

I am not unmindful of the objections which obviously may be urged to even the appearance of subjecting the policy or the action of the local government to criticism before a mixed audience and irresponsible tribunal. So far as the Governor is himself responsible for legislative policy or executive measures, it clearly would be out of place to enter upon any apology or defence of them here. Discussion is only permissible to me in the Legislative Council of the Colony; and where policy is directed by the Secretary of State, not originated by the Governor, it would be improper for him to here indulge in any argument upon his views of the matter. I shall therefore avoid so far as possible any reference to vexed questions of political character. Where those questions are suggested by the facts and circumstances which pass under review, they should be regarded simply as matters for philosophical investigation, for the purpose of arriving at truth, as a base for our judgment at present and anticipations in the future.

Notwithstanding the objections to which I have referred, however, I believe that, subject to the limitations I have indicated, much service may be rendered to the Colony of which I have the honour to be Chief Magistrate, by submitting to your notice and calling public attention to some results of my observations in Jamaica, and I have received the Secretary of State's permission to do this.



I am the more anxious to place before you the impressions which have been made upon my mind, because I have found that those which are generally prevalent, especially in England, are exceedingly inaccurate, and are certainly inconsistent with some indisputable facts.

I think I am not far wrong in my belief that Jamaica is now generally regarded as a hopelessly ruined community, which was once prosperous, but has become a wreck of its former self; that the negro population are an idle, thriftless, vagabond people, refusing to work and fast lapsing into heathenish savagery; and that if only the civilising influence of the cultivation of the chief staple, which is the sugar cane, should altogether cease or be very much diminished, then nothing can save this once magnificent colony from utter degradation, and the bulk of her people from the condition of their African forefathers.

It probably will very much surprise a great many to be assured that the whole of this is an erroneous view. Although causes which have operated elsewhere in like manner have reduced the export of sugar and rum, which are the chief staples, yet the diminution during the last ten years, supposed to be the worst in the history of the colony, has not been important; and variation in the quantity of agricultural produce is always to be expected. The mass of the people, so far from deserving the evil reputation which has been indiscriminately applied to them, will compare in many respects not unfavourably with the peasantry of other countries. And it is inconsistent with fact to suppose that the population are dependent for their present well-being or their future prosperity upon the cultivation of the sugar estates; the truth being that probably this industry does not afford direct employment to more than about five per cent. of the total population of the colony. This statement will probably be regarded as scarcely credible, and in order that there may be no misconception, I will repeat what I mean to convey in another form. The total population may be estimated at 570,000; it is almost certainly not less than this number, it is probably more. The increase between the census of 1861 and 1871 was from 441,000 to 506,000, or 65,000. The same rate would give more than 570,000 next year. The number of sugar estates in cultivation at this time is 228; the labourers employed upon them are of both sexes and all ages, and I believe I am not much in error in supposing that these estates do not on an average give constant occupation to one hundred labourers to each property. A simple calculation gives a total of 22,800 persons employed on sugar plantations out of a total

population of 570,000, contributing a revenue for their own public necessities of rather more than half a million, or something under a pound sterling for each head of population. Now these figures and the fact to which they refer are very striking. You may double my estimate of the number employed, though I believe it is ample, and yet you will not place upon the sugar estates so many as the odd thousands over and above the half-million who are the bulk of the taxpayers—the great mass of consumers who furnish the revenue raised almost entirely by duties on imports and excise.

The inferences which may be drawn are important. I think it must be clear that this half-million who are fairly well off, and in some districts, such as Manchester, remarkably well off as a peasantry, are not to be indiscriminately written down as worthless, lazy vagabonds. No one would, I think, dispute the importance to any community of a great industry which furnishes a principal article of export, or doubt that its cessation or any great injury to it would be a grievous calamity to the whole community, deeply to be deplored; but I have always been of opinion that it is wisest, and the best policy in the end, to look the truth boldly in the face. No good is really obtained by deceiving ourselves, and it seems to me impossible to suppose that an industry which only directly employs about one-twentieth of a population can be of primary importance to that population, which has shown itself very well able to do without it. It is a fact notorious to those who are acquainted with the colony that the part of the population of best character are not those engaged on sugar estates, and in the most prosperous districts, such as Manchester, there is little or no cane cultivation. Whether it is a mere coincidence or not, the districts which are most especially sugar-growing districts are certainly not those in which the absence of pauperism and crime are conspicuous.

I trust it is impossible that my audience should mistake me so much as to suppose that in calling attention to these facts I do so in any spirit unfriendly to the sugar industry. On the contrary, I both hope and believe that the cultivation of the cane will be extended and improved. I have had some opportunities for forming an opinion as well in the West Indies as in other parts of the world before I went to Jamaica, and I am bold enough to say that if sugar-growing can be prosecuted successfully in any British possession, it should be so in Jamaica. There is no place where the natural advantages are greater. But I am satisfied that infinite mischief has been done to the interests of the colony, great depreciation in the value of what may still be, and often is, very remunerative property has been caused by the misunderstanding

of questions which affect the welfare and progress of the community. It is time that its affairs should be looked at in the same dispassionate light of critical examination which we use with respect to other communities. We must discard entirely the tone of the anti-slavery partisan and sugar planter's champion on the one side or the other. We ought in justice to them, certainly, to remember that the fathers of these half-million British subjects forty years ago were slaves, and to remind ourselves how little opportunity was afforded to them half a century since to raise themselves in the social scale, or to elevate the standard of living after which they should strive. But remembering this, for my own part I do not hesitate to express my wonder that they have moved so far forward on the path of material well-being and moral progress as they may be seen to have moved, upon the whole. We must derive satisfaction from any evidence of improvement, and my object this evening is principally to exhibit by comparison of some statistics what I regard as ground for believing that the mass of the population of Jamaica has much advanced in moral condition; that the material welfare of the community at large has been increased, especially during the last ten years; and that there are good reasons to hope for renewed prosperity and fresh development of the resources of the island in time to come, if only the true position of her affairs is understood.

I have not the means with me of instituting a comparison between points of time with any great distance between, nor do I think that any good purpose can be served by going back to the totally different condition of things during the existence of slavery. We might as well now attempt to govern the crew of a ship of war on the system prevalent in the days of old Benbow, who lies in the chancel of Kingston Church, as to manage a sugar estate or govern the negro labouring population after the manner of one hundred years ago. After the extinction of slavery for many years the condition of Jamaica was one of transition, more or less unfavourable to the old relations of industry or the development of new modes of cultivating the resources of the community: until, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, affairs seemed to assume their most discouraging aspect, and the lamentable occurrences of 1865 led to the change in the form of the constitution which was made shortly after. I propose, therefore, to take the position of public affairs in some respects about the time of that change, and to examine whether the circumstances of the colony now do not justify us in pronouncing that there has been much improvement.

The small amount of public indebtedness, the faith which is

kept with the public creditors, and the care which is taken to reduce the burden of the liability, are, I believe, in all countries reckoned among tests of prosperity and discreet administration. Now with regard to this first consideration, I find on examination that the public debt of Jamaica rose to its highest amount in 1867, after the expenses of the unfortunate riots of 1865 had been added to former burdens. In 1867 the public debt stood at within a few pounds of £719,000. In 1877 it was reduced to a trifle above £485,000. In these figures are not included loans for special purposes which, although guaranteed by the public revenue, are primarily secured on special revenues. But the amounts include all that the general revenue is directly obliged to provide for, and it will thus be seen that no less a sum of debt than £284,000, more than one-third of the whole, has been liquidated in ten years, since the change of constitution. During the year 1878 a large addition was again made to the amount, not of the original but of the reduced debt. This was caused by the transference to the general revenue of the heavy liabilities on account of the loans for Indian immigration, which up to this time remained a special charge upon the proprietors of sugar estates, to be liquidated by export duties on their produce and some other articles of export, but which are now to be paid from general taxation, contributed chiefly by the mass of the negro population. This arrangement, with others of which it formed a part, has now been definitely settled by the decision of the Secretary of State, and was held to be necessary for the relief of the sugar planting body; as a matter of fact, however, so far from indicating any dependence of the general population upon the prosperity of the sugar growing interest, it seems to show that the proprietors of sugar estates have had to look for assistance to the mass of the population who are not interested in sugar cultivation.

Financial statistics are dry matters at any time, and I am loth to trouble you with much of them, but as finance is really the corner-stone of almost all business arrangements, and public policy must be influenced, if not controlled, by financial considerations, there are some facts which I think it necessary to bring into prominence, as without knowledge of them the present position of Jamaica cannot be understood.

I have shown you that the debt has been greatly diminished; I now wish also to point out that this has been done without any increase of taxation since the year 1867, when the fiscal system was re-adjusted by Sir John Grant, as I think with remarkable success; though the whole policy of the changes then made was to relieve

from taxation as much as possible the industries producing the chief staples of the Colony. And in the year 1869 the improvement of the finances enabled the Legislative Council, in the course of the then current financial year, to carry out important reductions in taxation. Of the additional taxes imposed under the new Government, in order, as Sir John Grant then said, "to repair the ruin inherited from the old constitution," the one-tenth additional import duty, yielding £18,465, was taken off; and of the old standing taxes the tonnage dues (exclusive of light dues), yielding £14,814, and the tax on breeding stock, yielding £8,848, were removed. In all, according to the yield of 1868-69, these reductions amounted to £41,627, of which £23,162 were due to the abolition of old taxes. The gross yield in 1868-69 of the only taxes newly imposed under the present constitution which remained in force amounted in all to £28,907. This was received from trade licenses, the new property tax (a small sum of £4,566), the house tax for poor rates on houses formerly exempted, and an insignificant amount from the dog tax. These imposts were distributed over the whole surface of the community, and scarcely affected the large landed proprietors. Their aggregate of £28,907 may fairly be set against the sum of £23,162 representing the old taxes remitted—the remission of which in the one case was held to enable the exporters of the staple products to obtain cheaper freights for their produce, and in the other to relieve the proprietors of cattle-breeding farms from their direct contribution to public necessities. The burden was shifted from property and the chief industries to the general population.

Any real augmentation of revenue resulted from the increase in the rate of the excise on rum and a small increase of some import duties consequent on the adjustment of the tariff in 1867. The rum duty was raised in 1866, when the new constitution came into operation, from 2s. 9d. to 5s. per gallon. And in April, 1867, a slight modification was made in the tariff of import duties. On that occasion certain articles formerly charged with duty, consisting mainly of machinery and other things required for the production of the staples of the Colony and the development of its industry, were admitted free, from which, and from reduced duty on a few other articles, there was a loss in the year 1869 of about £2,300. The duty on some other articles was increased, which increase yielded in that year £19,713; the main part of this additional yield being from oils, tobacco in its various forms, wines, spirits, beer, and similar luxuries, consumed by residents in the Colony.

The nett difference was in 1868-69, £17,417. The increase from

excise was £33,882. These two sums, amounting together to £50,799, raised from most legitimate sources, represent virtually the cost at which provision was made for a deficit at that time of £60,000, and a position of imminent insolvency was converted into a financial condition which has permitted reduction of debt to the extent I have before mentioned. Since 1867 there has been no addition to the taxation, though a portion of the cattle tax removed in 1869 was reimposed in 1877.

As the sources of revenue now stand it may be seen that property is scarcely taxed at all, the revenue for general purposes of government being raised entirely from indirect taxation on the consumption of the mass of the residents, and chiefly of the negro population—the absent proprietors of sugar estates or other property escaping altogether; and of the 228 sugar properties now under cultivation, 114 are owned by persons who make no pretence at residence in the Colony, and except in the small amounts collected for parochial purposes, such as poor relief and parochial roads, are subject to no direct taxes whatever.

It is obvious, I think, therefore, that the mass of negro population—of which, as I have said, not much more than five per cent. are employed by the sugar estates—are the real suppliers of the public revenue, and supporters of the public institutions of the Colony; and it becomes interesting to observe what comparison will show of the difference between the production of the same chief sources of revenue paid by the population of the same place in 1870-71, the first complete year under the last changes, and 1878, the latest year for which I have returns at hand. In 1870-71, the import duties yielded £198,226, and the excise £75,254. In 1877-78, the same duties yielded £245,075 and £92,888 respectively. I need not point out to you that as this is entirely the product of consumption which is purely voluntary, there must in this time have been an increase in the consuming and paying power of the bulk of the people which is at once inconsistent with the idea of their dependence upon the sugar cultivation, or with the notion that they are altogether an indolent, degraded, and vagabond race of people.

There are other indications, everywhere regarded as evidence of prosperity and thrift on the part of the working classes, to which we may point as testimony that the people in Jamaica, like their fellows elsewhere, are becoming mindful of the value of industry and the advantage of providence. In 1868 the number of depositors in the Savings' Bank was 2,524, and the amount of their deposits £58,918. In 1879, after deducting some deposits on

public accounts, there were 6,222 depositors, with a total amounting to £207,000. It was alleged that this large increase was made up of large deposits by comparatively well-to-do members of society, and afforded no evidence of increased thrift on the part of the people or of usefulness in the institution, but it was found on investigation that the largest increase had taken place in the number of deposits under £5. For my own part, I do not see how these facts and figures can be regarded as otherwise than affording evidence to the growth of a certain kind of improvement in the material, and to some extent in the moral condition of the lower classes of the population. But there are yet other facts: the steady progress in material prosperity is also shown by the extended area both of cultivated and of grass lands upon which parish taxes are paid, and by the marked increase in the demand for such imported articles of comfort and convenience as clothing, boots and shoes, furniture, and carriages. A comparison also of the value of books imported, which in 1866-67 was £624, and in 1876-77 was £9,628, tends to prove that there has been some intellectual improvement. While, as the amount of Colonial bank-notes in circulation, which was only £85,219 in 1867, rose to £148,778, apart from the increase of specie, which there is no means of estimating with accuracy, I think we may fairly assume a large increase in the exchangeable value of products, and in the domestic business of the island. The increase in the circulation of bank-notes I think very remarkable, and I wish to draw attention to it, as it is wholly inconsistent with the supposition of decadence.

Collateral testimony is afforded too in other directions. In a recent very interesting article by Mr. Stanley Robertson, in the *Contemporary Review*, on the present condition of Ireland, he refers to the index of the condition of a people which may be found in the way in which they are housed. Mean and comfortless dwellings imply, as he says, not only a low standard of comfort, but often a low morality. He proceeds to inquire how the matter has stood in Ireland, and arrives at the conclusion that a great shifting in the classes of houses upon which taxes are paid is clearly proved to indicate a real rise in the condition of the people.

Now we are able to apply this test to some extent in Jamaica. The poor-rates are the house tax, collected under Law 27 of 1869, and under a previous Law 5 of 1868, applied by the Municipal Board of each parish to the support of the poor of the parish. They are levied on houses of the annual value of £6 and upwards, at the rate of 1s. 6d. in the pound, but on houses below that estimated annual value in the following specific amounts: If

owned with an acre of land, 6s. ; with less than an acre, and floored, 4s. ; with less than an acre, without flooring, 2s.

From a return prepared during 1878, it appears that out of a revenue of £26,149, collected in the preceding year, £15,050 (including some arrears) was paid on houses below the annual value of £6 ; which fact, I may incidentally remark, indicates pretty clearly that the tax for the poor is very largely collected from the masses of the people, and that poor-relief is not granted principally at the charge of the large holders of land or of the more wealthy tax-payers. But the point to which I desire more especially to direct your attention is that, although the minimum rated value at which 1s. 6d. in the pound is paid has since been reduced to £6, and that, therefore, a great many which were previously paying the 6s. fixed rate have passed into the class above, and have increased that first class in number, yet a comparison of the returns of 1868-69 and 1876-77 shows a very large increase in the number of second-class houses, and a diminution of the third and fourth classes. The total number of houses paying the specific tax increased from 41,108 to 51,010, while that of the two lowest classes was reduced from 18,621 to 12,398. Now after making every allowance for the possibility that this large increase in number may be partly attributable to improved collection of the tax, and that in many cases the tax is paid rather on the land than on the house, still I think it can scarcely be doubted that more of the population are becoming better housed than they were ten years ago ; and there are not wanting indications of an ambition to improve their condition in this respect, which only needs to be fostered to produce beneficial results. The subject has recently excited some attention in Jamaica.

Information was sought by persons interested in the question of the bearing of the house-tax from a number of gentlemen of well-known intelligence, and especially from ministers of different denominations, who come into close contact with the people in their homes. Extracts from their replies were published in a local paper in August last, and I will quote parts of a few of them which more especially touch my point.

The Rev. Mr. Webb, of Stewart Town, Trelawney, referring to the improvement in cottages "in the Gibraltar district, where the people are small settlers and growers of coffee," says :—

"I was counting up with one of my deacons there the number of new and improved houses which have been erected within the last ten years in his district alone—a district called Watt Town. We counted no less than fifteen new houses, and others in course of erection—all upon an improved



scale—real neat, commodious, peasant-family cottages. . . . I will now describe one of these nice cottages that have sprung up in these mountains within the last ten to twelve years. There is a solid base wall, twenty-five feet by fifteen, seven to eight feet high—probably on a hillock or on the slope of a hill. In any case there are two rooms below; the sons occupy one as a sleeping room, and one is used as a lock-up for coffee or ground provisions for market, &c. Upstairs there are two sleeping rooms; one for the parents, and the other for the daughters. There is what is called a *hall*, where a few pieces of mahogany furniture show off to advantage. Upon a corner table are cups and saucers, mugs, &c., all of the latest and most approved designs, placed there more for show and ornament than for use. There is also another hall which is used for dining, and for general family chit-chat. A passage, which in many cases leads into a neat portico in front of the house, completes the design. I know of no instance where a settler or householder owning the description of house now given, is taxed more than six shillings."

The Rev. Mr. Ramson, Rector of St. Elizabeth, remarks:—

"In my present district I have not been located long enough to know so much of the people's dwellings as I did of those in the mountains. So far as I have seen, the lowlands are behindhand in this respect, but there are signs of improvement in even such a place as Parote, which is pure swamp all through. I was in my old Cure last week, and observed a considerable advance in this respect. No cottage now is considered respectable without glass windows, and there is a little flower-garden around it in most cases.

"I have never known an instance where a decent, well-to-do peasant—or, indeed, any peasant building a house—has made it inferior because of the tax of six shillings; but I could point out very many who acted upon my advice—that, as they had to pay the tax, they had better provide a good house for which to pay it. I believe this house-tax has helped to improve the dwellings of our peasantry."

The Rev. Peter Larsen, of Beaufort, Westmoreland, writes:—

"There are several neat little comfortable cottages about here, the owners of which pay only six shillings house tax. I give the description of one of them, which I consider the best—that of Mr. C. B., who is a member of our Church. This cottage is twenty-two by twenty-one feet; a wooden staircase leads up to a small verandah in front; there is a hall and two bed-rooms—the latter separated by a passage leading to a back door; the height of the rooms from floor to wall-plate is seven feet; there are also two rooms underneath, seven feet high. The foundation of the house is solid mason-work, the rest Spanish wall, and the partitions are of wood. There are four glass windows and fifteen *jalousies* in the house. It is nicely shingled, has good doors, and contains very suitable furniture."

The Rev. Mr. Panton, Rector of Manchester, makes the following observations:—

"I have in my mind's eye now a house, the basement of which is of stone, well built, to the height of seven feet; on this basement is a second

story of Spanish wall, enclosing a good large hall and three bedrooms ; in the front of the house is a capital porch, into which you enter by a flight of stone steps ; the lower story is made into common rooms, the bettermost rooms being upstairs. This house is not quite finished, and therefore is not taxed. When finished it will come within the six shillings' rate, because although well worth six pounds' rental per annum, there is no one in an ordinary negro free town who will give that rent. In another locality—say near a town or market—it would bring the six pounds' rental ; but even then it would only pay a tax of nine shillings per annum. There are a great many of our peasant householders who would not object to pay 9s., but contrarywise would esteem their position a higher one and more worthy of public estimation.

"We want a good middle class of black population. To a certain extent we have this in Manchester—men who will appreciate education, morality, social rules among themselves, and the ordinary customs of civilised life. Such men would see the necessity for taxation, and not grudge their quota. In material prosperity there is a large class now in the country whose means warrant their social elevation. But they are below the mark in education and taste."

The Rev. A. Baillie, of Mount Olivet, after referring to a visit to some houses paying 9s. tax, offers similar testimony :—

"The same afternoon I went into a nice, neat cottage, well kept. It had a central hall, fifteen feet by twelve. It was neatly furnished, having a small side-board, a table covered with a green damask cloth, with some ornaments and a few books on it—'Barnes on the Gospels,' and others ; on the other side of the hall was the table for ordinary use ; there were several good mahogany chairs. On either side of the hall there was a good bed-room. Outside, there was a good-sized kitchen, having a roof over it. When I inquired of the owner what taxes he paid for his house, he said six shillings.

"Our people could accommodate themselves well if they would come up to the utmost verge of the house they can get for six shillings' tax. For this they can have such a house as will give them due accommodation for comfort and the requirements of modesty for a good-sized family."

It certainly would appear that, as regards their dwellings, the negro population of Jamaica have no reason to be ashamed of comparison with Ireland, where, as I have lately seen it stated by the Irish correspondent of the *Times* (*Times*, 16th January, 1880), out of 831,000 farmers in one portion of the country, 100,000 of them are "living in the worst classes of mud cabins, in a vast number of which the cows and pigs share the solitary apartment with the family. According to the census there were in 1871 no fewer than 512,801 mud cabins in the country, of which 357,126 were of the class having from two to four rooms and windows, and 155,657 having only one room. These 155,675 one-roomed cabins were occupied by 227,379 families, while the 357,126 better class cabins

were made to accommodate 492,774 families. The decrease in the number of cabins built of mud had been less than 10 per cent. since 1861, and it is unlikely that a very marked replacement of these wretched homes by well-built and properly appointed farm-houses will be revealed by the census of next year."

I think it may safely be said that there is scarcely any state of things to be found in Jamaica so bad as this which exists within the United Kingdom. At least the negro population cannot fairly be written down as hopeless savages while they contrive to house themselves, upon the whole, a good deal better than some of their European fellow-subjects. Nor can a people who grow their own food to the extent which may be ascertained from official returns be pronounced to be an altogether idle people. From some data furnished to me I find that in 1878 the value of the food imported in Jamaica amounted only to £1.28 per head of the population, while it amounted in British Guiana to £3.68—in Barbados to £3.57, and in Trinidad to £4.22: that is, that these places are dependent for their food supply upon foreign sources to three times the extent that Jamaica requires. Surely this is evidence of internal wealth, compared with other Colonies.

I should not omit to mention that the negro population are themselves cultivators of the cane and producers of raw sugar to no small extent, although the processes which they employ are as yet crude and wasteful, and the produce is, so far as I know, entirely consumed among the lower classes. It will surprise a great many, I think, to learn that there are nearly 6,000 small sugar mills (the number in a return some six years ago was stated to be 5,615) in different parts of the island, crushing the produce of small holdings, varying in size from a few acres to the fraction of an acre. The total result I have no means of ascertaining, but it cannot be insignificant, and it would seem as if there were the material here for the future establishment in the more favourable localities by private enterprise of central factories for refining, or at least improving the quality of the produce of this industry.

I could produce other facts which I think go to show a much-improved condition of things respecting the negro peasantry, and some will perhaps present themselves in the course of my further remarks. I have said enough, I hope, to indicate that it is a great mistake to suppose of them in mass that they are quite so bad as they are sometimes painted, or that they are by any means much dependent upon the continuance of cultivation on the large sugar estates for their support or well-being.

But I am quite aware that a great many persons, when they

think or speak of Jamaica, and compare its past and present condition, have no reference in their minds to the condition or progress of the mass of the resident population ; they mean to contrast the amount of export of sugar and rum in present times with the quantity exported in days gone by. I think we must admit that the circumstances of the Colony have wholly changed since the days of slavery ; and for many reasons we may be thankful that they are so, though the emancipation apparently had a great effect upon the export of the chief staples. For some time after the cessation of slavery the industrial history of the whole community was one of transition, through successive temporary phases of social life. I think it must necessarily have been so. It may be easy to be wise after the event, but it seems to me now that it ought always to have been easy to predict the difficulties which would occur in respect of labour, when the policy of the landed proprietors or their representatives in that day was to drive the emancipated labourers away from their properties on which they had previously dwelt. In all other places the importance is recognised of having labour resident near to the spot where it is to be applied. Strange and almost incredible as it may seem now, viewed in the light of common sense, it was, however, the fact that the proprietors and their agents at that time compelled the former slaves to seek for habitations, or at least shelter, miles away from the places where their work was required. They were not permitted to remain on the estates. It was not wonderful that the labourers did not fancy having to walk great distances to and from their work every day, and gradually sought and found occupations for themselves nearer to their homes. The present generation of planters are not responsible for the folly of their predecessors, but, as too frequently happens, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. The planters cannot get labour enough now because their predecessors carefully taught the peasantry to do without the sugar estates. But, stranger still, I believe it to be the fact now that there are few, if any, sugar estates which have any villages upon them in which labourers could obtain cottages, either rent-free as a retainer for their labour, or at a moderate rent with freedom to labour where they might find it most convenient. It seems difficult to believe that there is any true scarcity of labour in a place where the production of the chief staple of export does not employ—probably could not employ, even if all necessary labour were supplied from native sources without Coolie immigration—more than 5 or 6 per cent. of the total labouring population. The fact simply must be that sufficient inducement of one kind or another is not offered to the

labouring classes to work for the planters instead of working for themselves. The people have been repelled from the sugar estates, instead of attracted to them. I cannot help thinking that if half as much trouble had been taken to organise supplies of labour from native sources as has been taken to obtain it from India, the wants of the community could have been satisfied without foreign immigration. There are districts in Jamaica where labour is not readily obtained, but there are others where it is sufficiently abundant, if not superabundant. The people in these latter will not travel far from their homes for work, nor could they be expected to do so ; but if homes, or even temporary accommodation of a decent character, such as is provided in Australia for hands at shearing-time, were offered to them, I should be surprised if it proved altogether impossible to enlist the services of some of the most useful of the population at the times when most required. In expressing this opinion it must not be supposed that I am at all influenced by what have been called the views of Exeter Hall, or the Anti-Slavery Society. One of the misfortunes of Jamaica is that one cannot express honest, independent opinions, the fruit of his own judgment or experience, without immediately being accused of being, or at least supposed to be, a partisan either of the planter or the negro in some controversy at issue between them. I think we have had more than enough of all that, and that the *débris* of that strife should be swept into the dust-bin. I am convinced that the same great laws which regulate the action of capital and labour everywhere will be found now to operate in Jamaica as everywhere else, and that the negro labourer only needs to be treated with the same justice and consideration accorded to his fellows in other places. All that is required now is to dismiss, on the one hand, any sentimental philanthropy, and on the other, the notion that any one class of men is bound to work for another class unless it is to the interest of the class that they should so work.

It has been before remarked, and I think it is true, that the negro has much in his character which is like that of the Irish. There is much impulsiveness, and a child-like unreason in many respects, but with this exists a keen sense and appreciation of justice. And I have never heard alleged against the negro anything worse, either as to crime or morals, than I have officially known to exist among white people in other places.

It is impossible to avoid all reference to the labour question in treating of the affairs of Jamaica, but, in fact, now it ceases to be the great question, since the recent arrangements in respect of

Indian immigration, which enable Coolie labour to be obtained on terms far more favourable than in any other Colony ; such labour can be procured in abundance, and at rates quite as moderate as there is reason to expect from a system which, if it is to be governed by the regulations which humanity demands, cannot be otherwise than expensive.

The sugar planters' disadvantages, however, have not been limited to the labour difficulty alone. After the removal of all protection a severe struggle had to be maintained against the competition of slave-grown produce, to say nothing of the production of other sugar-growing countries like Mauritius, or the large quantities of beetroot sugar which have all been brought into the market since the abolition of slavery.

More recently still, they have been subjected to the yet more unfair rivalry of refined sugar protected by a bounty on export from the Continent, a rivalry of which it is scarcely too much to say that it is dishonest on the part of the British consumer to avail himself of it for the purpose of obtaining cheap sugar. The cheapness is analogous to that which may be secured by buying stolen goods. The principle involved in this question is outside the limits of Free Trade, and, indeed, is in direct conflict with the fundamental axioms to which Free Traders profess their adherence as articles of faith. The bounty which enables the foreign exporter to undersell British produce in English markets is extracted by foreign Governments from the pockets of the general foreign taxpayer for the benefit of the subsidised industry. We know this to be contrary to the very simplest grounds of the principles which we proclaim ; but we are not above availing ourselves of the iniquity for our benefit ; because they are cheap, we won't decline to buy the stolen goods ; although if the system is pursued, the honest British producer, who gets no protection at the expense of others, must in many parts of the world be put to sore straits, and perhaps be ruined : and then will come the retribution. It is well known what used to happen in the case of rival coaches in the old coaching days, when passengers were carried for nothing and had free lunches. The longest purse prevailed, fair competition was effectually stopped, and when monopoly was established, so were the old high prices. I hope that the ruin of the whole British sugar-producing and sugar-refining interest is a long way off yet ; but the thing is possible, and the tendency of that to which I have referred is to produce this result. In the ruin of any great industry, although the community as a whole may recover itself, there is necessarily inflicted much suffering upon numbers whose capital or

whose labour has been applied to that occupation. Even if these should find compensation in other directions, the suppressed industry may be injured beyond possibility of restoration; and the British consumer be left in future almost entirely dependent upon a foreign supply, which by that time perhaps will be heightened in price by an export duty, instead of cheapened by a bounty.

The point, however, to which I desire to direct your attention is that, notwithstanding all those adverse influences to which the production of her chief staples has been subjected, so far is Jamaica from being ruined, up to the present time, that her imports and exports generally have increased; and her export even of sugar and rum, after making allowance for those fluctuations to which all agricultural produce is liable from variations of seasons, has not sensibly diminished in the last quarter of a century. We may for the time leave out of view the fact, long ago insisted upon by Adam Smith, that the amounts of exports and imports are not the chief indications of the wealth or prosperity of a community, which are far more affected by the amount of its internal trade. But taking the test of imports and exports for as much as it is worth, we find that in 1868 the value of imports was set down at £1,028,866, and that of 1877-78 was £1,492,722; that of exports in 1868 was £1,091,882, and that of 1877-78 was £1,175,145, though the crops in that year were notoriously short, and in the previous year the value of exports had amounted to £1,419,825.

As regards sugar and rum, to which articles many persons seem to limit the possibility of production in Jamaica, the export of 1870-71 was the largest that had been shipped for nineteen years previously, and although there has been a great diminution in subsequent returns, yet the export of sugar in 1876-7 was very slightly less than that of 1867, and the quantity of rum, for which the island has long enjoyed a special reputation, was about 11 per cent. more than in the former year.

It is only fair to remember also, touching the returns of exports in recent years, that record is only kept of packages, and that as the export duty for immigration purposes is, for facility of collection, levied on the packages and not per cwt. or gallon, there has been a not unnatural tendency on the part of shippers to increase the size of the package, and a hogshead or a tierce or puncheon really represents a larger quantity of contents than it did some time ago.

The total value of the products of cane cultivation exported do not now amount to much more than half of the total export of the colony; but in a pamphlet not long ago published in the colony, it has been shown, to the satisfaction of competent judges, that these

products are quite equal in quantity to that which was exported thirty years ago.

Other products, however, have shown decided increase. The export of coffee has risen from 7,758,985 lbs. in 1868 to 9,411,662 lbs. in 1877-8. Pimento has at least held its ground, for against 4,378,259 lbs. in 1868 (which was, however, a short crop) we have 6,195,109 lbs. in 1877-8. Coffee, however, has increased certainly, and is increasing, as the area of cultivation is being extended. It seems to be little known by the general public that not only is the production of coffee in Jamaica large, but that some of that coffee is the best in the world, that is, commands a higher price in the London market than any other coffee, and nearly double the price of good Ceylon berries. I was much surprised, on seeing a very interesting paper upon Jamaica which was read before the Colonial Institute last year by Mr. Russell, and the discussion which ensued upon it, to remark that scarcely any reference was made to this fact. The fact is important, however, and there is no reason why Jamaica should not only maintain her superiority to Ceylon or other places in the quality of the produce grown on the high mountain sides, but rival them in the quantity of the lower qualities which may be grown to any extent on the lower levels. Coffee-growing is an industry in which it may be said that all classes are interested, for while the largest production of the inferior qualities proceeds from the small holdings of black peasant proprietors, most of the properties at a higher altitude belong to more wealthy members of society. Even those producing the best quality might, I believe, be extended in number and area by judicious expenditure of capital. There is a good deal of new land which might be taken into cultivation for this purpose, if the investor can afford to wait a little for his return, and give the trees time to come to maturity. I wish that a limited liability company could be formed for establishing some new plantations, which I am sure would be a great success in a few years. Much of the land said to be exhausted by former cultivation has now rested sufficiently long to repay judicious treatment, and the industry is unquestionably fairly remunerative as an investment. Unless something entirely unforeseen as a calamity should happen to the Colony, I have some confidence that the cultivation of coffee will be extended, and the production of this export from Jamaica very largely increased.

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I need not dwell upon minor articles of export, such as ginger, beeswax, arrowroot, and cocoa, all of which are produced in some quantity, and the two latter of which form important items in the trade of other colonies, as I believe they surely will before very



long in Jamaica ; but all these may be factors in prosperity. The export of cocoa was only 133 cwts. in 1867 ; it was 1,694 in 1877-8 ; and a great deal is used in the island.

Logwood, though it can scarcely be said to be an article of cultivation as it ought to be, has been and will continue to be a valuable product. The export has increased from 895 tons of the value of £2,685 in 1889, to a trade now amounting to an average of more than 50,000 tons. The marvel is that it is not cultivated, to the extent at least of affording that protection which is given to plantations of timber in other places. Instead of this, and instead of preserving the young trees until they have attained the growth which renders the wood a marketable commodity, it is cut at all ages, and even burnt for firewood. Much injury is thus done to the supplies of an article which might be a much more important export than it is now, and which is worth from £3 to £5 per ton.

Cocoa-nuts, too, have become an item in the list of merchandise in which Jamaica deals. The quantity, I have no doubt, will even become larger as the lucrative character of the trade is better appreciated. There are large tracts of land admirably suited to the growth of the cocoa-nut palm, and fit for little else. I am not aware of any valid reason why the products of this tree should not be as valuable to Jamaica as they are to Ceylon or Fiji. The public owes gratitude to Sir John Grant for the plantation established on the previously worthless land on the Palisades near Port Royal. There are now more than 19,000 trees, of which some are already beginning to bear, and in a few more years I trust that a not insignificant amount of revenue may be derived from this source.

But a yet more valuable service was rendered by Sir John Grant in the commencement of the cinchona plantations on the Blue Mountain range, which promise in time to come not only to be a benefit to mankind by increasing the supply of quinine, but a source of considerable profit to the community. The plant was first introduced some years before, but the cultivation had been neglected, and no important results had been obtained. We have now ascertained from the opinions of experts upon small quantities already sent to England as samples, that the quality is above the average, and from the first large shipment forwarded this year we expect a return of more than £5,000. The primary aim of the Government, however, in this and other experimental cultivation, is not to obtain aid to the revenue ; though this point is so much misunderstood that some persons, I believe, would at once discontinue these plantations because they have not hitherto been profitable. The object

is to show by trial, at the expense of public subscription for the purpose, what new products may be introduced with profit to the community. With regard to cinchona, this point has been now satisfactorily proved. It remains for the proprietors of the high mountain lands, which are so well adapted for the cinchona trees, and are not suitable for coffee or other cultivation, to avail themselves of the knowledge thus procured for them.\*

During the last ten years, under the fostering sympathy afforded to them also by my predecessor, two other important additions to the remunerative products and trade of the island have been made in the articles of tobacco and fruit, the business in which is rapidly assuming very respectable proportions. Jamaica cigars have established for themselves well-deserved estimation among those to whom they are known; and I cannot doubt that as their reputation extends so will the cultivation and improvement in the preparation of the leaf, which even now is scarcely inferior to the best qualities of Havannah.

The fruit trade must rather be described as the utilisation of what was previously wasted, than as the establishment of a new product, though no doubt the stimulus which has been given by the trade which has sprung into existence has caused the cultivation especially of bananas and plantains to be extended, and to receive more care than was previously bestowed. The trade had no existence whatever before the year 1869, and in 1877-8 it had grown to the value of nearly £40,000.

There are, of course, no manufactures in the island of any moment as affecting its trade; but I have not yet noticed the great pastoral interest, which I have reason to think now affords, and would continue to afford if even largely extended, very fair returns upon capital invested. I refer to the cattle-breeding farms known in Jamaica as pens, though the same appellation is applied even to the small enclosures surrounding a country house or villa. It is not the custom in Jamaica to admit that anything is profitable. Pens are no exception to this rule; and yet, looking at the amounts of capital which are invested in these cattle farms—in other words, the amounts for which many of them have been bought—there is good reason for thinking that they afford on an average of years a

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\* In this, as well as with regard to experimental cultivation of new species of the sugar cane and various other plants of commercial importance, besides the general support of the Botanical Gardens, great assistance has been afforded to the local Government by Sir Joseph Hooker and the officers of the Royal Gardens at Kew—assistance without which the same satisfactory results could not have been accomplished.

very fair amount of interest on investment. I have wondered that some systematic effort has not previously been made to establish a regular cattle trade between Jamaica and adjacent places, which would readily take all that she can supply. I have, however, heard during my absence from the Island, that a most praiseworthy and spirited attempt has been made, of which I have as yet no reason to doubt the success, to accomplish this object. It would perhaps have been done before, but for the not astonishing want of sympathy on the part of the sugar planters in any project which, if successful, might result in raising the prices of cattle which are required for the sugar plantations. It would not be the first occasion on which the jealousy of different interests has impeded the real progress of a community. And it is the fact that the passive opposition of the sugar-planting section of the community, at one time dominant and still influential, especially in England, has impeded the development of any industries which seemed to create a demand for labour which would withdraw it from the sugar estates.

Apart, however, from the demand for cattle which may grow out of an export trade, or from that which still exists for working cattle on estates, there is a very large consumption of beef among the labouring population which gives a certain outlet for much of the increase of the breeding pens. Official returns, which are not likely to give more than the true number, show an annual consumption of more than 10,000 head of cattle for butchers' stalls. Only a small quantity of this supply is absorbed by the limited number of the white population. I have been told by persons likely to be well informed that much is consumed by the better sort of the negro peasantry who a few years ago scarcely ever used fresh meat as an article of diet. Here again, incidentally, we have evidence of improvement in the condition of the people, as well as of a demand for cattle for beef, which is certainly likely to increase, and will not be much affected, even if the need of the sugar estates for working oxen should diminish.

A great difference between the circumstances of Jamaica and those of other West Indian Colonies, and evidence of her internal resources, is shown by comparison of returns of imports of live stock. Without going back further than 1878, as I wish not to multiply figures, I may state that in that year Barbadoes imported live stock to the value of £22,827, Trinidad to the amount of £90,498, while Jamaica only took to the value of £616, and this chiefly for breeding horses of good blood to improve the stock, for which she has deservedly some reputation.

I have submitted to you no statement which cannot be verified on examination by yourselves. I think that it must be obvious to any impartial and unprejudiced inquirer, that while the whole condition of affairs has changed since the abolition of slavery, there is decided and very encouraging improvement in that of the large masses of the people. The Government is constrained to take cognisance of this changed condition. Any attempt must prove futile to pursue systems which might have been suitable enough fifty years ago. While the sugar-planting—what may be called the sugar-exporting interest—is still, and I hope will continue to be, the most important, it has obviously ceased to occupy such a relative position as to overshadow all others, and to require or to justify that all other considerations should give way to its protection or support. Nor is it entitled to a controlling voice as regards taxation, to which the proprietors of land contribute very little. The policy of the administration manifestly should be to afford legitimate assistance and encouragement to all, without undue favour to any. It is clearly a duty to promote the ready administration of justice, the diffusion of education among the people, not merely in the elementary branches of knowledge, but in the cultivation of intelligence and the development of the natural faculties, which will help the masses to elevate themselves in all that constitutes civilisation; and to furnish those means of communication and transport which in all countries have so important an influence in stimulating industry by giving value to its products. Such is the policy which at least the Government desires to pursue, and has followed out already with some success, and the promise of yet more satisfactory results. I desire not unduly to trespass upon your time, or to trouble you with more statistics, but I may assure you that in the opinion of those best qualified to form a judgment, much has been accomplished during the last ten years; as may be seen in the increase year by year in the number of day-schools; in the better character of the schools themselves; and by what is represented on good authority as the discrimination shown by parents and others in the selection of schools, so that, in the words which I quote, “while an incompetent teacher generally fails to keep a school together, an efficient teacher, other things being equal, is certain to attract a large number of scholars.”

The following facts, contrasting the returns of 1878 with those of 1868, the first year under the present system of inspection, show very remarkable progress as regards elementary education in Jamaica:—

		1868	1878.
Number of Schools inspected	... ..	286	617
" " First-class Schools	... ..	1	54
" " Second-class "	... ..	6	176
" " Third-class "	... ..	89	343
" " Trained Teachers	... ..	130	354
" " Untrained "	... ..	152	271
" " Children Registered	... ..	19,764	51,488
" " " in Average Attendance		12,216	29,679

It will be observed not only that the number of schools and number of children attending have enormously increased, but that the character of the schools has so much improved, that whereas in 1868 only 96 out of 286 could be classed at all, in 1878 out of 617 very few were left unclassified, and the proportion of trained to untrained teachers is very much larger.

Of the total 617 schools, 215, or more than one-third, are connected with the Church of England, 120 with the Baptists, 90 with the Wesleyans, and the remainder belong to the United Presbyterians, the Church of the United Brethren, the Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society, and the United Methodist Free Church. All are treated in the same manner by the Government in rendering assistance by grants in aid, payments being made according to results.

The manner, too, in which the people support their religious institutions deserves note and praise. The same writer from whom I have just quoted, himself a minister of long residence and experience in Jamaica, remarks :—

" This last is a fact specially worthy of remark, as significant not only of the growth of deep-rooted religious sentiment, but of social progress. Religion in this colony has been disestablished and disendowed. Yet I venture to say that the Episcopal Church, which has suffered most from this change, was never, at least to outward observation, so strong and vigorous as at the present moment. As a rule, I believe, the congregations have shown themselves both willing and able to provide for the ministrations of the sanctuary, while, with very few exceptions, we see, on almost every side, signs of activity and zeal the most gratifying. Other Christian denominations have passed through a similar ordeal, consequent upon the missionary societies of the mother country having seen it their duty, either wholly or in part, to withdraw the pecuniary aid which they had been wont to afford. Up to within the last few years these societies were paying the salaries of their agents ; now, for the most part, pastors and missionaries are thrown upon their respective bodies or their individual congregations for support. In general, whatever may have been the difficulties and struggles, this new burden has been cheerfully assumed by the people. Nor do I know of any missionary station which has been abandoned in conse-

quence. On the contrary, there is hardly a parish in which one does not see new and handsome church buildings erected, or in course of erection, mainly through the voluntary contributions of the congregations, while old ones on all sides are being repaired and beautified."

In England, at all events, I need not use any argument to prove the value of facilities for transport and communication. Jamaica was until last year destitute of any local telegraphs, and the only railway was very limited in extent, and either through misfortune or mismanagement was unsuccessful in its operation, affording little convenience to the community. The old line has already been purchased by the Government from the former proprietors, and is in process of being restored to a creditable condition, with great improvement already in its usefulness, and with financial results so satisfactory that there need be little fear of its possession proving a burden to the revenue. There is ground for confidence that the annual earnings in excess of working expenses will be sufficient, besides paying interest on the loan, to establish a sinking fund for extinction of the debt.

It is intended, however, to continue the line further to the foot of the Manchester hills, and also to Ewarton in St. Thomas in the Vale, which will afford an outlet for the products of fertile and prosperous districts, and careful estimates justify the belief that this undertaking also may be carried out with equal success, and without necessity for taxation or burdening the Exchequer with charges. And I know that the public may rely upon the able administration of General Mann, of the Royal Engineers, the Director of Public Works, and those who work with him. In these circumstances, too, may be found collateral testimony to the general condition of the colony.

Within the last year a line of telegraph has been constructed extending nearly all round the island, and connecting the principal towns and villages. There were not wanting pessimists to throw cold water on the project, to declare that it was many years in advance of the community, and must prove a failure. I was not sanguine as to its immediate success, but I believed that it must be beneficial in many ways sufficiently to justify the expenditure. I did not expect at once such favourable results even as were anticipated by the Postmaster-General, the excellent and energetic public officer under whose supervision the telegraph has been established. Not only, however, have the public works department been able to erect the portions of the line which were first provided for at a less cost than was thought probable, but the working of the line has been proved to meet a public want, and has even already been

so far a pecuniary success, that we need not have much fear that this either will become a burden to the taxpayer.

Time does not permit me to dwell upon other public improvements introduced during the last ten years, or many which remain to be accomplished. Most of these have been done or must be undertaken by the Government. I wish that more were within the power or the will of private enterprise. But I believe it is being excited. I would not leave unmentioned the highly successful street tramways now laid through the principal streets of Kingston, and in one direction running three miles out of the town, amounting altogether to eight miles of rails. This is the work of private local enterprise, and here, too, the prophets of evil denounced the folly of the project. Happily, however, their predictions have been falsified. The undertaking has proved so successful that I am told the shares pay from 10 to 15 per cent., and are not now to be bought. But besides this, attention may be directed to the Jamaica Mutual Life Insurance Company, with £80,000 invested capital, the Kingston Benefit Building Society with £143,000, the Jamaica Co-operative Fire Insurance Company (only three years old) with £24,000, and new building societies springing up in every part of the island, improving dwelling-houses and building new ones. These, surely, are not signs of ruin.

I have no doubt that some at least of the views which I entertain, and which I think must appear justified to the dispassionate observer, will not be approved by the opposing parties who formerly fought over the prostrate body of Jamaica. But I am not on that account disposed to regard them as erroneous. Truth generally lies in the middle, and is not often palatable to the advocates of extreme opinions. "I have nought extenuated, and set down nought in malice." It seems strange that it should be so among persons whose fortunes, and those of their families, for good or evil are more or less inseparably connected with the Colony; but there are those who seem to take comfort from insisting upon it that Jamaica is ruined; there is what my predecessor, Sir John Grant, in his annual report ten years ago, once called "that strange Colonial school which imagines it to be for its interest to scare away English capital," and maintains that there is, and can be, no possible improvement. If there were greater appearance of its truth, the policy would be unwise. The old times and their circumstances have passed, never to return. The rush of life in these modern days is too great for men to bestow much attention upon the fallen. Convince the world that Jamaica has irretrievably fallen, and she will be left to her fate. And she has been left to her fate,

though, as I have shown you, she may be proud of having struggled successfully against adversity with little or no aid from without.

I would not have consented to read this paper to you to-night if it had not been my hope that I may serve her by inducing many to look more closely into her present circumstances, and by counter-acting the injuriously erroneous opinions which have prevailed respecting her present condition. Much mischief has been done, and great depreciation in the value of property has been caused, by these opinions. Many sugar properties are no doubt unproductive to their owners. Many are mismanaged, not altogether through the fault of the local managers; many are unfortunate in their situation or in other circumstances; more lack the capital which is necessary to make them what they ought to be; on very few is the agriculture at all up to the mark of excellence to be observed in other sugar colonies; the finer kind of manufacture is rarely attempted; and yet there can be no doubt that some properties not only are remunerative, but pay handsomely in comparison with the return expected from an acre of land elsewhere. Still so much has the value of property been run down, that recently on the arrangements consequent upon the failure of a well-known London mercantile firm, an estate in Westmoreland parish that was known to have cleared twenty-one thousand pounds in ten years—that is, an average of more than two thousand per annum, was sold for less than £8,000—less than four years' purchase—while no rural landed property anywhere else of the same extent would probably have yielded so good an average as the return in a colony reputed to be ruined. Now, there are known to be many other instances of this kind, and it seems to be no unreasonable belief that what is possible in some cases might be possible in more if it were not for causes not inseparably connected with Jamaica. I am convinced, after having had a good deal of experience in all the great groups of colonies in different parts of the world, that Jamaica still affords, under discreet management, a very remunerative field for the investment of capital, in more industries than one. I have said for the investment of capital, and I must emphasise this, which is a very different thing from purchasing property with money borrowed at extravagant rates of interest, expecting to live out of it besides in a comfortable manner, and still to be able to lay by enough to pay off the corpus of the debt. Property must be very profitable which will justify such an expectation, more profitable than I have ever known it anywhere. Engagements legitimately made must be honestly observed; but conditions such as I have described must not be confounded with true investments.



There are districts in Jamaica eminently adapted for the profitable cultivation of the cane, if it can be made remunerative anywhere. To refer to one only, I will mention the Plaintrain Garden River Valley, which, if the present proprietors could be bought out, or themselves would unite as a company to consolidate all or most of the properties lying there under effective management as a great whole, might be made as productive as any Demerara or Mauritius property. The facilities for water power, water carriage, tramroads, steam ploughing, and implemental husbandry, are unsurpassed. If irrigation were wanted it could easily be arranged from the river, but the rainfall is so abundant that drought is almost unknown. A central factory, with the most approved system of sugar making, might be established if the union of the properties furnished raw material in sufficient quantity to justify the expense of the necessary plant. An undertaking of that kind need not lack labour under the recent immigration arrangements, even if native labourers could not be obtained for the purpose. A small colony of Indian immigrants is more easily supervised than the same number scattered in small bodies apart, and themselves would feel more comfortable together.

Room as there is for larger numbers of labourers and for application of capital, probably Jamaica would be benefited most largely by the immigration of European experience and intelligence, and the many advantages which would flow from an augmentation of the better educated part of her population. I suppose the improvement which might result from the addition of even five or six dozen fairly educated men as residents in the rural districts of different parts of the island, as regards many departments of public or social affairs, could scarcely be overrated. The tropics, however, are not generally supposed to possess much attraction for Europeans, and, unfortunately, Jamaica has acquired an evil reputation for unhealthiness, which has, I believe, been unfairly exaggerated. There is no doubt that all the western tropics are liable at times to the prevalence of a dangerous variety of fever, which occasionally becomes epidemic. Apart from this, I look upon Jamaica as exceptionally healthy for the tropics, and the numbers of persons who may be seen who have resided there for years, and still look as ruddy and robust as when they first left Great Britain, stamps the climate with a very different character from that of the East Indies. Even as regards the graver maladies, I believe that, on examination, an average of years and the ratio to the total white population would show a much smaller rate of mortality from those causes than is commonly supposed; especially in more

recent times, when the prevention and treatment of disease is better understood. In a year or two I hope that we shall have information more valuable than mere conjecture upon this point. In 1878 the Law for Registration of Births and Deaths first came into force, and from it we ought soon to acquire much very valuable statistical information as to the kinds of disease most prevalent, and the true ratio of mortality from any cause. We have already received satisfactory evidence that the native population is increasing largely at the rate of 6,000 per annum, instead of remaining stationary or diminishing, as in, I believe, all other West Indian Colonies.

While in the days of slavery the number of labourers had to be kept up by the continued importation of slaves from Africa, we can now point to a marked natural increase, which in fifty years' time without immigration will probably give nearly a million of population. Cultivation of all sorts must then be largely extended, and production increased. We shall not then hear of want of labour.

I have not touched upon any question which may be considered administrative or official, for I have regarded them as out of place on the present occasion; but it must not be supposed on this account that the Government has not a ready and satisfactory explanation to offer upon any question which might be raised.

I fear that I have already exceeded the usual limit of time on these occasions; but I have desired to give you, though very imperfectly even now, some chief reasons for my belief that so far from being a ruined Colony, Jamaica has a very hopeful future before her; not the less so because her fortunes by no means hang exclusively upon the success of sugar cultivation, much as we may desire that to prosper on terms that are equitable to other interests. I think that careful and unbiassed inquirers will not fail to see in the facts and statistics which I have submitted, valid ground for confidence that the community, as a body, is advancing in much that constitutes progress, although there is so much yet to be done. Considering the history of the Colony, and what its condition is known to have been fifty years ago, in the latter days of slavery, for my part I think the advance that has been made speaks well for the character and capacities of the negro race, as well as justifies reliance upon the natural resources of the Colony.

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. NEVILLE LUBBOCK, in opening the discussion, said: I am sure you will all share with me in the pleasure with which I have listened to the able and interesting paper read to-night. That

paper has brought many facts before us, and it is satisfactory to learn that, after careful consideration of those facts by Sir A. Musgrave, he has come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the condition of Jamaica is one of increasing prosperity. In the first place, Sir Anthony Musgrave has called attention to the fact that the production of sugar and rum apparently only engages five per cent. of the population. Now, that is a remarkable statement, and it becomes more so when we consider that the exportation of sugar and rum amounts in value to more than one-half of the total exports of Jamaica. Therefore, one is naturally led to ask, what are the other 95 per cent. of the population doing? But the facts are still more remarkable if we compare the exports of Jamaica with those of Trinidad and British Guiana. In Jamaica the value of the exportation is about £2 10s. per head of the population, while in Trinidad it is £17, and in British Guiana it is £13. No doubt it is true, as Sir Anthony Musgrave has pointed out, that in Jamaica there is a smaller amount of food supplied in the shape of imports than is the case in Trinidad and Guiana, but after making due allowance for this the comparison is very unfavourable to Jamaica. It is more remarkable since Sir Anthony tells us "the population is by no means an idle one," and that the people "inhabit a country the extent and variety of whose resources are perhaps unsurpassed by any tropical possession of Great Britain." That is a striking feature, on which we might ask explanation. I do not think Sir A. Musgrave is right in saying that it has been put forward that Jamaica would be ruined if her sugar industry went to the wall, but it would no doubt compel a large portion of the population to seek other means for getting a livelihood, and the stoppage of the sugar industry would be deeply to be regretted. I agree that there is an improvement in the condition of the West India Creoles as compared with slaves, as I have seen them in Porto Rico; but, at the same time, I think we ought not to exaggerate this, and I think there is room still for much improvement, and I cannot say that I am so well satisfied with the improvement that has taken place as Sir A. Musgrave appears to be. With regard to Coolie immigration, when I read a paper under the auspices of this Institute two years ago, during the discussion which ensued Sir Henry Irving remarked that if the Coolie immigration had been looked upon as a philanthropic movement, and not as a matter of business, it would have been recognised that no philanthropic movement had done so large an amount of good to so great a number as Coolie emigration. For my part, I think the time has come when this should be more fully recognised. It is not too much to say that the Coolies leave

India in a condition of semi-starvation, that in all probability if they remained in India they would be doomed to actual death by starvation, whilst, on the other hand, it is well known that when they reach the West Indies they do earn not only comfortable subsistence, but are enabled to save considerable sums of money. Therefore I think we may say that Coolie immigration is no longer an experiment, but is now a great success; and although it is of course not right that the native population should be called on to pay the whole cost of the introduction of such labour, it must be borne in mind that, as large producers and consumers, they amply repay the Government the moderate amounts they now contribute, and I think the Indian Government might assist the emigration of those people more than they do. (Hear.) As I have mentioned Sir Henry Irving, may I be allowed to express my regret that the Colony of Trinidad is so soon to lose his services, for everybody with myself must recognise the ability and energy he has displayed, and the great progress which Trinidad has made during his administration. (Cheers.) I now come to another remark in the paper which I cannot let pass unnoticed. Sir Anthony Musgrave states that there is a passive opposition offered on the part of the sugar industry to the development of the other industries which are likely to interfere with the labour employed on sugar estates. I think that remark is somewhat uncalled-for. It is impossible to refute an intangible accusation of this character; but, so far as I have seen, I do not think there is any foundation for it, and I regret, considering the source from which that statement has emanated, that it should have been made. The conclusion I have come to on this paper is this,—that we have in Jamaica a large population maintaining themselves in ease and comfort, with the expenditure of a minimum amount of labour; and, to my thinking, that is a subject on which we ought to congratulate ourselves. (Cheers.)

Sir HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.: As an old Governor of Jamaica, it has been a great pleasure to me to listen to the encouraging account of its position and prospects which has just been given to us by my friend and successor—for successor I suppose I must call him, though it is so many years since I was there—Sir Anthony Musgrave. He certainly has drawn a much more hopeful picture of the emancipated negro than that which is usually exhibited to us; and he has, moreover, adduced proof, and strong proof, to show that so far from there being any retrogression in civilisation on his part, there has been a steady and, on the whole, a satisfactory progress onwards. I think, therefore, that all candid

persons must admit that the old idea which prevailed among us, that the welfare of the negro was wholly and indissolubly connected with the restoration of sugar production in the West Indies, was, to say the least of it, an exaggeration ; and that the institutions of the Colony have been maintained notwithstanding the very great falling off that has taken place in the production of sugar. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, it certainly struck me, from what I heard of the paper just read, that the extent to which the present population is still dependent, directly or indirectly, on the cultivation of sugar-cane, is considerably under-estimated in it. I fear that it would be found that if the present cultivation of sugar was unfortunately further reduced, the consequences to the population would be very lamentable. (Hear, hear.) It strikes me also that Sir Anthony Musgrave, arriving in Jamaica -so many years after the event, has, with every disposition to judge impartially, not fully estimated the difficulties which the planters had to encounter in that island at the time of the Emancipation. (Hear, hear.) If they had been idiots enough, as he seemed to suppose, deliberately to prevent the negroes from remaining as residents on their estates, they certainly would be entitled to very little commiseration. But although that has been the actual result of the struggles which went on for years with regard to rent, &c., with the negroes, it certainly was not the intention in the first instance; and I fancy the result was due to a great extent to previous circumstances peculiar to the island, notably to the fact that the Provision grounds of the negroes in Jamaica were, for the most part, during slavery, situated at a great distance from the sugar works. However, without entering into such questions now, believing as I do that the greater part of the educated white population is employed on the sugar plantations, and that its remaining in the island depends on the continued cultivation of the cane, I should be sorry to see that reduced at the present moment, and I am very glad to learn from Sir Anthony Musgrave that he is of opinion that the sugar cultivation is entitled to every legitimate support on the part of the Government. I was glad to learn also that the cultivation of coffee is reviving and being extended in the island, because I think it is peculiarly adapted to the climate of the Colony and the circumstances of its population. Reference has been made to the fact that when the paper was read at the Institute last year, much surprise was expressed at the statement that Jamaica coffee still brought the highest price in the London market. That statement was questioned at the time, but I believe there is no doubt whatever that the finest coffee in the world is grown on the slopes of the

Blue Mountains, though, unfortunately, the quantity is small, and that very excellent coffee is also produced in Manchester and other parts of the island. There are other minor articles of culture, such as pimento, of which nature has given Jamaica a monopoly, cocoa, logwood, &c., which have been alluded to in the paper, but on which I need not now dwell. But I think we may safely conclude that, great as has been the ruin among the old families of the island, who were principally engaged in sugar planting, the prospects of the future are by no means so black as they are generally represented to be—(hear, hear); and I must add that every one who is really interested in the prosperity of the island ought to feel deeply indebted to Sir Anthony Musgrave for coming forward so boldly to-night and stating his views in the very able and interesting paper he has laid before us. (Loud cheers.)

MR. G. H. CHAMBERS : I have been requested to say a few words, and I do so with much satisfaction, because I think there are many here who are aware that no one takes a greater interest in the prosperity of Jamaica, who has said more in favour of her natural advantages, or has been more anxious to promote the welfare of the island in every way, than myself. There are some points in the address to which I must take exception, because I do not think the matter is put quite fairly before the meeting. I do not think it is fair to put aside what was the condition of the island in the past, in considering what it is at present. When we know that the production of the grand staples of Jamaica has fallen off, and that a decline of the staple production is the sure sign of decadence in any country, and when we see that in other Colonies not only have the exports been maintained, but that in some cases there has been an excess, and this notwithstanding the exceptional capabilities of Jamaica for production which Sir Anthony Musgrave has referred to, and in which I most fully concur, the time has come for thoroughly sifting the causes which have led to it. (Hear, hear.) What has been asserted is true, that at a previous meeting of this Institute the quality of Jamaica coffee was called in question, and I was taken to task immeasurably for the opinion I dared to hold upon the subject; but my opinion has been fully confirmed, and I now repeat what I have stated on a former occasion, that Jamaica has other natural advantages; she produces infinitely the best sugar, the best rum, the best ginger, the best coffee, and pimento, as an article of commerce, scarcely grown elsewhere, and I think with these great natural advantages she ought to have made better progress. (Hear, hear.) But it is scarcely fair to say that the negroes have been charged with being in such a sad condition as is alleged by

the reader of the paper. It is perfectly true that we have spoken—I have spoken, and others, too—of their indolence in many respects, but who can wonder at it when we consider the climate in which they live, and the readiness with which they can get all the supplies of life, and the little necessity there is for anything like active employment? We know that it has been very difficult to improve our home labourers; our friend Sir Stephen Cave, with Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Robert Culling Hanbury and others, has exerted himself in this cause, but he has not always been successful in the past; now, I am happy to say, we have what has been happily termed an aristocracy of the working classes, men who are above mere sensual indulgence, and it does not surprise me to hear that we have improvements going on also in Jamaica. But I do feel this most deeply, that if the white element should be withdrawn—and if the sugar cultivation prove a failure, that element must be withdrawn—we shall lose the most powerful influence for elevating the condition of the negro population. I do trust that some encouragement will be shown to bring us back, if not to where we were, at least to place us a little more forward among the sugar-producing Colonies of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. L. OHLSON: It is very satisfactory to find this large audience assembled in what may be called the head-quarters of the Empire, to consider the affairs and condition of a West Indian Colony. Jamaica is, perhaps, the best known to the English public of all the West Indian Colonies. Whenever the West Indies are mentioned, it is Jamaica that is brought to mind by those who have no special knowledge of that region. Jamaica has very great claims indeed upon the consideration of the English public and Parliament at home, and when those claims are urged with so much eloquence, force, and authority as we have heard them enforced to-night, there cannot be any doubt that the position of Jamaica will be much improved, and her claims to general recognition will be better understood and appreciated. Whether the arguments and opinions that have been brought forward in the paper command universal assent or not (and it is clear that many will not be assented to), there is no doubt that everybody will appreciate Sir Anthony Musgrave's desire to put the condition and claims of the Colony in as favourable a light as possible. And, considering what Jamaica has been in the past, how it produced at one time 100,000 to 150,000 hogsheads of sugar; how it was the centre of an enormous commercial activity, and considering also what has happened since, any sincere attempt to raise the Colony from the despondency and depression in which it undoubtedly has

been (in the opinion of many competent persons) for some years past—any sincere attempt to raise it to the higher levels of progress, hope, and renewed enterprise—such as we have seen this evening—must command grateful recognition. (Hear, hear.) His Excellency went out to Jamaica at a very critical period of her fortunes. The old state of things had been swept away, and an entirely new form of Government had been established. Jamaica waited patiently for ten years while this change was consolidated, and she has now a perfect right to ask the serious question, What is the result, and where is the improvement? (Hear, hear.) His Excellency has recognised the importance of this question, and has endeavoured to answer it in his paper this evening. The conclusion that will be come to by those who have heard the paper, and who have at the same time a knowledge of the island, is that a great improvement undoubtedly has taken place in the condition of the general population, and every one interested in the island, whether as planter, merchant, or in any other way, would be only too glad to co-operate with his Excellency to increase and expand this improvement. (Hear, hear.) His Excellency has deprecated any discussion on administrative matters; but there are one or two questions I should like to ask. First, with reference to the want of proper statistics. Whilst we in this country get the statistics of the whole trade of the United Kingdom within a fortnight after the beginning of the year, and whilst other Colonies (such as Trinidad) can publish their tables of exports a very few weeks after the beginning of the year, it takes ten months in Jamaica to compile and publish similar returns, notwithstanding the alleged improvement in the administrative departments under Crown Government. (Hear, hear.) There is another point. The Budget in this country is produced very shortly after the close of the financial year, and authority taken from Parliament to spend money. In Jamaica no less than four months are allowed to elapse before the Estimates are submitted to Council; and a third of the whole year's revenue is spent, or the Government is committed to its expenditure, before the Council, whose principal duty it is to examine into and confirm these items of expenditure, are consulted. (Hear, hear.) There is one other question I should like to ask, and it covers the whole condition of the Colony, and the principal questions involved in that condition. While the public expenditure of Jamaica has increased during Crown Government from £300,000 to £500,000 a year—I am not saying this increase is wrong, or objecting to it; an increased expenditure may in many cases be a very good thing, and necessary to strengthen



and extend the usefulness of the institutions of a country; I only mention it to bring it into contradistinction with some other points—while the expenditure has thus increased, and while the population has also been increasing, to use a well-known expression, “by leaps and bounds,” at the rate of 8,000 or 10,000 a year, how is it that during the last few years exports have been practically stationary? His Excellency depreciates the importance of exports. But the first thing any political economist, such as his Excellency, would do if he wished to become acquainted with the condition of Jamaica, and knew nothing about it at first hand, would be to look at the exports, and see what relation they bear to the population. And although the exports of Jamaica may not be the only indication of the condition of the country, still they are a most important means of estimating that condition, and no statesman would think of ignoring them. (Hear, hear.) I do not make these remarks in any spirit of complaint. We are here for discussion; certain statements have been made in the paper, and it is necessary to see what can be said on the other side to get a complete view. Everybody must have been pleased at the state of substantial prosperity in which the general population are represented to be. His Excellency has drawn an idyllic picture, but one no doubt in substance perfectly true. But it must be remembered—and this point cannot be too strongly insisted upon—that Jamaica has a staple industry, producing an article of food in universal and increasing consumption all over the world. His Excellency has spoken of the opposition of the planters, but the planters may have had occasion to complain of the opposition of the Government in matters concerning the sugar industry. It would be a mistake on the part of the Jamaica Government to allow the sugar industry to dwindle and die. What is it that has attracted capital to the island during past years? It has been sugar. It takes £15 to £20 to make a ton of sugar, and it therefore takes a lot of money to produce a crop. The greater part of this money is spent in labour, and even the present limited production of 25,000 tons means the circulation of between £300,000 and £400,000 among the labouring classes and classes just above that of the labourers. It might be said, indeed, that taking the whole value of the sugar and rum exported at about £800,000, the greater part of this money (for very little of it comes home in the shape of profit), is spent in the Colony; It circulates among all classes, and enables those classes to maintain themselves, and to buy those articles and pay those duties (such as the import duties to which his Excellency has referred), on which the Government mainly depends for its revenue. If the sugar crop

could only be doubled, you see how vitally important it would be for the whole island. I do not want to reopen the immigration controversy. The planters are willing to forget all the hard words and the severe censures which they have had to bear from his Excellency. They had a kind of quarrel with him some two or three years ago, but we are only too glad to take this opportunity of "making it up." Let us hope that in this case "the falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love." We do not ask for any contribution from the general revenue, but that the immigration funds shall be so applied as to make the expense as little onerous as possible to the individual planter. To maintain the sugar industry, labour is required, and labour of that particular kind which can be depended upon at critical periods. If the planter has no hands on the estate to take off the crop, or if he has a sudden demand for an extravagant rate of wages, it means either the loss of the crop or perhaps the absolute ruin of the planter. It is, therefore, necessary that the planter should have a certain supply of Coolie labour on which he can depend. This gives security to his operations, it gives him confidence in spending his money and investing his capital. It makes him conscious that the money he is laying out will perhaps give him a return; it enables him to offer to the negroes in the district that kind of work on the estate which they are anxious to get and generally willing to do; this must be a boon and a blessing to the population of that district, and through the prosperity of that district the whole Colony is benefited. His Excellency says that only 25,000 of the population are engaged on sugar estates; but if we multiply this (say) by 5, as the number in the family of the labourer, we see that 75,000 or 100,000 people are dependent on sugar-making, and if this is so, it is not a bad proportion of the total population dependent on sugar-making. But no doubt the bulk of the population are engaged in other profitable occupations, and the planter cannot get the labour he wants. The fact that a man does not work on a sugar estate is no proof of his want of industry. (Hear, hear.) There is no charge of laziness brought against the labouring population when we say we cannot get labour for the estates. (Hear, hear.) His Excellency says there are plenty of labourers in the Colony for the sugar estates. Practical experience proves the contrary. In Jamaica or anywhere else, the planter would not pay £15 to £20 to bring an immigrant from the other side of the world, if without spending a farthing he found all the labour he wanted at his own doors. (Hear, hear.) Jamaica planters have made many mistakes, but they have never descended to such a

depth of idiocy as that. (Laughter.) What we want is that the claims of sugar should be considered in a statesmanlike manner as one of the main elements in the prosperity of the country. We do not say that any local West Indian Government could remove the depression of the sugar industry. That depression arises from the unfair competition in Europe, some striking particulars of which I hold in my hand, but cannot refer to from want of time. The point I want to insist upon is that the sugar industry, and a proper supply of labour for its maintenance, must be treated as one of the great interests of Jamaica which no Government could overlook ; and with the expansion of the sugar cultivation side by side with the growing prosperity of the general population—with the abolition of the iniquitous system of foreign export bounties, which has been the cause of all the badness and depression of the sugar trade for some years past—with the development of the island by means of railways, on which subject his Excellency may be fairly congratulated—with the opening of the Panama Canal, which, if it be made, will make Jamaica again important as an *entrepôt* of commerce—with all these improvements, accomplished or in progress, we may hope that a brighter and a better day than any which has yet been seen will dawn for one of the oldest, one of the most interesting, and certainly not the least splendid of the dependencies of the British Crown. (Cheers.)

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE : Allow me to say a few words as from one who passed through the period of transition from slavery to freedom in the island of Jamaica, and, although young at the time, was not too young to take an intelligent interest in passing events. With regard to the statistics of the Colony, it was my part early in life to have something to do with the preparation of those connected with trade, and I am rather afraid, from what Sir Anthony Musgrave says, that they have deteriorated since the time when they have been under the control of the Home Government. As to what may be said regarding the origin of the present condition of the affairs of the country, there can be no question that a mistaken view of their true policy was taken by the planters at the time of the Emancipation. This had much to do with the state of things existing in Jamaica from thence up to the present time, and seeing the evils likely to have resulted from such a course, it has given me unbounded pleasure now to learn of so happy a condition of affairs. There is no doubt that when slavery ceased, and when freedom began, it was very difficult indeed for both parties to become accustomed to the altered position in which they stood to each other. The prevalent idea was that of enforcing labour from

the black man, who had never been brought up in any other system, and the means of enforcing this labour was that which called forth the efforts of the employers. The wisest Governor that Jamaica ever had, and perhaps also the wisest man who governed our other dependencies, Sir Charles Metcalfe, foresaw the evil which did in truth result from the course then pursued. It was sought to tie up together the question of wages and property, and I myself saw over and over again cottages on the land unroofed, and the coconut trees cut down, in order that the labourers might find it necessary to leave their homes or accept the wages that were offered by their former owners. The result was contrary to the expectation of the employers, for capitalists from England and philanthropists stepped in and advanced money, which enabled the population to become purchasers of portions of estates for themselves. Many labourers were thus—I have seen them myself—taken ten, sixteen, or eighteen miles away from their former residences ; and though for a short time they seemed to do well, because the ground was easily cultivated and its fruits rapidly brought forth, yet, when the Provision grounds became exhausted and their clothes worn out, the labourers found themselves at such a distance from the means of earning the necessaries of life that they were unable to earn a sufficient competency to live. They depended more and more upon that which they could raise themselves, because they had not the means of earning wages or getting luxuries beyond those of home growth. I am happy to think that that state of things is to a considerable extent passing away ; not, it is true, by a restoration of the cultivation of the staple articles, or encouraging the expenditure of large capital on the island, but by an increasing ability in the inhabitants themselves to obtain those things which they want for their own support, and the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and happiness among themselves. This opens the wide question,—For what purpose do our Colonies exist ? Are they to exist for the purpose of drawing wealth away from the place, to be spent elsewhere ? or are they to be used as the means for the cultivation and happiness of the resident population ? (Hear, hear.) I do not say that the exports must necessarily be so small as they appear to be, for we must bear in mind that exports are the only means by which purchases can be made for the comfort and enjoyment of the people ; and there can be little question, from the amount of imports, that the Jamaica labourer must be satisfied with a far less amount of extraneous help to his existence than we are disposed to think consistent with the advancement of his prosperity, or that real happiness which should be his portion. Still,

the fact is this, that the exports are not the true measure of the welfare of the country, but it is rather what those exports go to procure. We know that in the days of slavery the best part of that which the country brought forth was spent here, and that the inhabitants of the Colony got little or no benefit out of it. Hence, the population were in a degraded condition. The money spent on their support was very little indeed ; and it is evident now that there must be a larger amount of internal consumption of the produce of the country to be sufficient for their own supply and support in order to secure their happiness and enjoyment. But it is evident there is a great deal yet to be done in overcoming the ill effects of that which existed on the introduction of freedom. We want to get the people to be desirous for more than they hitherto have consumed, and to stimulate them to labour for the purchase of those things which would raise them in the scale of humanity and civilisation. We want to encourage this to go on thus. The amount of exports show there is too little of this ; and the imports also show that there is too small a quantity of that which the island does not produce, provided for the use of the people ; and thus that there is a low state of civilisation existing. (Hear, hear.) But there is reason to believe that things will go on to a different condition ; and that we shall find these defects overcome in process of time. (Hear, hear.) I am not a planter ; but for years my opinion has been that we must not depend largely upon the cultivation of sugar for the prosperity of Jamaica or its population, but rather upon the production of other kinds of things which the island is capable of bringing forth, and they are very numerous. I believe it will never be possible for the labourers of Jamaica to compete successfully in some cultivation for export with the labourers of the East, where the population is more dense, and the cost of living much less. It will, I think, be always found that the Mauritius and the Eastern countries nearer the sources of Coolie labour have such an advantage over Jamaica as will prevent her from ever becoming an increasingly large producer of sugar. In Barbados the case is different. There we have the densest population in the world, with the exception of China. There the labourer has no means of living unless employed in the production of sugar, and he is obliged to be content with a smaller amount of wages than the labourer of Jamaica. Jamaica has special facilities for producing some things which other Colonies cannot boast of. She can produce the logwood, which is grown as well as in Cuba in Porto Rico, and other parts of the world. Lime-juice she can produce largely, and also the cocoa-nut, and I cannot doubt that

in these productions it will not be long before she may be able to compete with the capitalists of other places over which she has great advantages. The cultivation of coffee is easy of accomplishment, and I believe it is to this that we have to look forward for the returning prosperity of the island rather than to the cultivation of sugar. We must certainly depend more upon other produce rather than on that of sugar. But, coming back to the main point, we must ask,—Does any Colony exist for the benefit of the inhabitants, or for those who live outside it? Jamaica people seem rather to think it exists for their own welfare, and not for the sake of aggrandising those who may be the holders of property, and who live away from it; and although we may wish that they should be more desirous of purchasing for themselves a larger amount of articles from abroad than they do, still I do think that we can hardly expect that to a large extent they would care to export their own supplies, excepting for the purchase of that which they are going to consume themselves. The whole question of colonisation is a very wide one, and it is becoming one of increasing interest to the Mother-country from the amount of our redundant population compared with the means for their support; and I think we must look forward to our Colonies in the future rather as homes for the inhabitants of the countries themselves, or for the inhabitants we may send them from our country, than as the means they have hitherto been of getting a large amount of imported wealth to be consumed in this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ALFRED HENRIQUES: My object in offering a few remarks to you is mostly to draw attention to that part of Mr. Ohlson's address in which he discussed principles of political economy referred to in Sir A. Musgrave's paper. It is true, as Sir Anthony said, that the exports of the island are not increasing. It must be borne in mind that exports are not the sole test of the prosperity of a country. The reader drew attention to a great number of facts which conclusively establish the growing prosperity of the island. He drew attention to the producing power of the island, and showed that the public debt of the island was decreasing, and he drew attention to the fact that the area of cultivation was also increasing. Another matter he drew attention to was the increase in the bank-note circulation, which showed there is more movement in trade, and where that is so it shows there must be increased prosperity. The fact that food is not imported is another element of prosperity, showing that the products of the island suffice for its population; but, as the last speaker observed, are we to regard the prosperity of the inhabitants in the first place, or those outside the island? I do

not doubt that the answer must be the former, and not the latter. The remarks of Mr. Ohlson seemed to me to have the sound of those of older times—namely, advocating the forcing of industry and production, and that has always ultimately tended to the ruin of our Colonies. The basis of the prosperity of the island now is in entire accordance with economic laws as we understand them. The prosperity of former times was due to a variety of causes. Slavery doubtless had a great deal to do with it, but even that was by no means the real cause. Sir Anthony Musgrave said truly that they were causes to which we can never return, and which have passed away for ever, and we must look forward to a new state of things. One of the real causes of the prosperity of Jamaica arose out of the treaty, little known, made in 1709 between England and France on the close of the War of Succession in Spain, by which treaty the French Government gave over to England the right it had obtained to supply slaves to the Spanish Main and the Spanish West India Colonies. By means of that treaty England possessed the entire right of bringing slaves from Africa to Jamaica, and the Spaniard then took them away to the Spanish South American and West Indian Colonies. It was that treaty which had produced the prosperity of Jamaica, and brought about a state of things which it was hoped would have lasted for ever. It was, moreover, by the destruction of the French fleet that the English flag became pre-eminent over all the seas, and which allowed England a monopoly of the Colonial trade, and which considerably influenced the prosperity of Jamaica. The celebrated Berlin Ordinances of Napoleon in 1807 also affected that prosperity, and forced up the value of Colonial produce to an exaggerated point. No doubt that prosperity continued till the close of the war ; but it was only temporary, for in 1832 the slaves were emancipated, and the sources of prosperity were destroyed, and all slaves became free. Looking to the history of Jamaica, we know what the causes were, and we now look forward to the operation of economic laws to continue that prosperity which we now know is in the ascendent and will prevail. It appears to me that the paper is most valuable as showing how important it is to consider the value of economic laws, against which we cannot fight. We must act in harmony with them, and the conditions of prosperity laid down in the paper appear to me a simple evolution of those conditions, and that if the present inhabitants are allowed fair play they will increase the prosperity of the island, and without expecting that which can never be attained, abundantly prosperous conditions may be realised. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEAUMONT : My Lord Duke,—Though I am loth to do so at

this late hour, I cannot refrain from saying a few words upon this most valuable paper. For not only is the subject one of great and peculiar interest, but I don't know when we have had a paper in which the subject has been treated with such remarkable ability, thoroughness, and candour. It is especially welcome to find that one who speaks with the authority belonging to Sir Anthony Musgrave's position, has spoken with respect to the real problems of West Indian affairs with a courage and directness which are essential to do justice to these, but which are too often wanting, so that the truth is obscured in official mystery. I cannot help saying that, to my thinking, a paper so pregnant with suggestion, and so distinguished for independence and fairness, merits the confidence and thanks of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) Its matter affords great encouragement, at all events, to all those whose views are not warped by the misleading prejudice of class interests. It appeared to me, indeed, that it must have been so to those who represent the important sugar interest, if, indeed, they would be content with such a measure of prosperity as may consist with the prosperity of the people at large in the various independent ways which are open, and should be made free, to them. And if I had not heard all my life the lamentations of the planters based on their claim to exclusive consideration, I should have been greatly surprised to hear the observations which have been made as to the paper being discouraging to the sugar interest. I look in vain, my Lord Duke, for a single word of such discouragement in the paper. Indeed, I am sure that no one who has real knowledge of the West Indies, still less one who has held a responsible position there, would venture to say a word to depreciate the value and importance to any of our Colonies there of what is called the sugar interest. But its just claims are not depreciated, still less are its prospects discouraged, by showing, as the paper has well done, that its continued and improved prosperity may well consist with the continued and improved prosperity of the people of the Colonies, and the development of those independent industries which are absolutely essential to base their welfare on a permanent foundation. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me to be a matter for special gratification that this paper has put before us so distinctly as it has, the plain principle of dealing fairly with the interests of the people at large without exclusive regard to sectional interests; for surely the prosperity of the people at large is what we have to look to, whilst the prosperity of a particular set of capitalists, though their interests may be large, their claim to consideration great, and to justice complete, must be, after all, a matter of secondary importance. (Hear, hear.) I have been



surprised to hear it said—for it is certainly contrary to what I have read and heard all my life, and have myself had abundant means of observing—that what I may call the sugar interest have no desire to discourage the negro people in their other industries. (Laughter.) Can that really be said? It is a matter that cannot be dealt with in the few minutes at my command, and therefore I will only say that, when I sat in a West Indian Legislative Assembly, I have many a time known it said, in almost as many words, by my non-official colleagues, when suggestions have been made to forward the independent resources of the people:—"Don't interfere with it; don't aim so much to make these things cheap, or to enable the negroes to settle on the land easily; don't alleviate the exorbitant system or the harsh administration with respect to fines and penalties by which they are precluded from utilising the great wastes of Crown lands and forests, and so on. If you do, they will not work on the sugar estates, but will be going up country and withdrawing themselves from civilisation." That was the fine phrase, "withdrawing themselves from civilisation," with which the truth was veiled. Now, all that, I say, is an utterly false notion; false for the planters themselves, and especially false towards the interests of the country at large. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately, as we have heard to-night, though after many years of grave anxiety, and not until after this wretched system had entailed a terrible crisis, which seems to have acted somewhat as a storm clears the air, Jamaica has become an example, and I would hope, a pioneer, of a new and brighter condition of prosperity. Here we find the working people of Jamaica, who, after all, are the backbone of the country, making in every direction marked, and in some even rapid, progress by their own independent exertions, and amidst many serious drawbacks. (Hear, hear.) I am convinced that it might easily be the same throughout the West Indies. There is ample evidence that the coloured people want nothing beyond fair dealing and just consideration for their wants and their welfare to ensure their advance in industry and good order. Above all things, indeed, they love and want even-handed justice. Wherever they have had that in the administration of the Government and the law, they have used the opportunity nobly for the improvement of their material welfare and social status, and to claim their part in the higher gains of civilisation. I think the fact of Sir Anthony Musgrave coming forward, and with the knowledge and the responsibility proper to his official position, placing before us the facts and figures and considerations which we have heard, not only deserves our serious attention, but ought to carry conviction to the minds of thinking

men, that in Jamaica, and so throughout the West Indies, we have a great population to be cared for which deserves to prosper, and as it has suffered much in the past our especial duty is to secure by every means in our power the regeneration of these Colonies. (Hear, hear.) As to what has been said as to the exports of a country being the legitimate test of its prosperity, that, surely, is wholly fallacious. Very many considerations must be taken into account before you can attribute to this factor its just weight. Indeed, not speaking of a vast system of commerce like that of England, but of a comparatively small and isolated Colony, such as many of the West Indies, as to which you can trace the course of its industrial resources, it is surely plain that to import only one-half of what it exports, which seems to be the ideal aimed at by some speakers—which, for instance, is the condition of things on which they flatter themselves in British Guiana—to say that such a condition can be favourably compared as to the prosperity of the country with proportions such as we have heard are met with in Jamaica, seems to me to be the most extraordinary fallacy in the world. What the West Indian Colonies have suffered, and at times retrograded from, is not the want of encouragement to the sugar interest as a class. They have rather suffered from artificial and unfair encouragement. Due and economical and just encouragement is good for all, and by all means let the sugar interest have every fair encouragement ; but don't think you can secure its prosperity by fostering it at the price of the prosperity of the country at large, least of all at the sacrifice of the labourer's freedom. (Hear, hear.) Let him have his way open to him, and encourage his freedom of independent action and enterprise, and by and by you will find that the West Indies, which it is the fashion to talk of as ruined, will rival in prosperity any of those flowers and gems of the British Empire with which our Colonies girdle the world. (Hear, hear.) At present it must be admitted that their condition, though far enough from ruin, is not such as our country ought to boast. Their interests have indeed been greatly disregarded and crippled by the unmistakeable persistence of those interested in the planting interest, who have been for a generation crying out that they have been ruined, in the false ideas of the past, and if indeed their views are persisted in, it might well be that these Colonies and their people would relapse into barbarism. But though my time is at an end, I would wish to place before the meeting a few figures which will not only show how false is the idea of the ruin of our West Indian Colonies, but will serve to bring the immediate subject into that relation which I always

like to keep in view between particular Colonial questions and the Imperial features and importance of our Colonial Empire. They are figures taken from the Trade and Navigation Returns for the latest available year—1878, an unfavourable year indeed as to trade generally, but not such as to disturb the relative considerations which I desire to bring into view; and to avoid trespassing on you too long, I will give the figures not only in round numbers, but stating only the gross of imports and exports. Well, then, out of the gross amount of 615 millions of the imports and exports of the United Kingdom, 150 millions represent our trade with the British Colonies and dependencies. The population of these may be taken roundly at near 240 millions, so that our trade with them is at the rate of a trifle over 12s. a head. Of that about 52 millions represent our trade with India, the population of which is more than 200 millions, thus showing a rate of 5s. per head, and leaving nearly 100 millions of trade to be divided amongst our own Colonies, having a population of less than 15 millions. This gives a rate of £6 10s. per head. Now I will give the figures as to some of our leading Colonies. The Australian Colonies, with some 2,600,000 people, traded with us in 1878 to the amount of 42 millions, giving a rate of about £16 per head; British North America, with nearly four millions of people, contributed to our trade 16½ millions at the rate of something more than £4 per head; Ceylon, with nearly three millions, gave a trade of just under four millions, a rate of £1 6s. per head; while the West India Colonies, with a population little exceeding a million, traded with us to the amount of 9½ millions, giving a rate of little less than £9 per head. One instance more I should like to give in order to aid the conclusions I desire to impress on you. I would take the case of Italy as a great, central, prosperous European State. I take her case because the amount of our trade with her happens to be almost exactly the same in gross amount as that with our West Indian Colonies, showing thus a rate of less than 7s. per head as compared with the West Indian rate of £9 per head. Does that look as if the West Indies are ruined, or its people a helpless and idle people? Quite the contrary. I say the West Indies, amidst all their many difficulties and embarrassments, have been successful; that their people are orderly, industrious, and hard-working. They ought to have, and I don't doubt will have, a great future before them, if they are only cared for and encouraged in the way they are advancing in; and I am glad to think, from what Sir Anthony has told us as to progress in Jamaica, that these bright prospects are likely to be realised in the near future. (Loud cheers.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN: Before asking Sir Anthony Musgrave to conclude the discussion, I think we may congratulate him in not having realised the anticipation he felt, that he might not give satisfaction—(hear, hear); still, I think he has shown great impartiality, and although he may not have given satisfaction to everyone here, I do not think he has excited animosity on the part of anyone. (Hear, hear.) There is only one topic, I think, on which he spoke strongly, and on that, I think, he spoke strongly with good reason—namely, that of the bounties on the exports of sugar from France. (Hear, hear.) It is certainly a matter of surprise why this country has so long submitted to the free admission of sugar on which bounties are paid by the French Government. I think that arises from the rage for Free Trade which there is in England, and has been for some years. Why Free Traders should not have objected to the system, which is as diametrically opposed to their principles as the sliding scale on corn, I cannot understand. I think if they had not been blinded with prejudice in minor points, they would have seen how directly opposed these bounties on exports of sugar are to their principles, and they would have taken steps to counteract what is so opposed to what is right, and what is so unjust to the English producer of sugar in the West Indies, or to the English refiners of sugar at home. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I think, Sir Anthony Musgrave was strongly justified in speaking as he did on that subject, and I only wish it could influence our Legislature. I thank Sir Anthony in your name and my own for his able and interesting paper, and wish him success in the administration of the Colony in which he evidently takes so much interest. (Loud cheers.)

Sir ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, in reply, said: After having inflicted upon you so long a paper as that which I have read, I ought not to add to your suffering by any remarks now; but there are one or two points upon which I should like to make some observations. Mr. Neville Lubbock referred to what he regarded on my part as an uncalled-for remark, that the sugar-planters offered passive opposition to the development of other industries; but my conscience does not feel very guilty about that, for if you remember, I said "*passive* opposition," and I think that we are all of us at times subject to the kind of unconscious cerebration which makes us unfriendly to that which is distasteful to us, even though we may not actively oppose it, and that there is a disposition not to like that which will withdraw labour from the purposes for which we require it. I do not think it is so unnatural as to constitute a crime, I only recognise it as a fact worthy of notice. I do not love the

planters less because I love abstract truth and philosophical investigation more. I am not unfriendly to them because I desire to arrive at the truth of the condition of the negro population, and to make it known. With regard to Coolie immigration, it may be observed that I scarcely touched upon that in my paper. I am quite convinced that there is no difficulty in the way of the planters obtaining a full supply of immigrant labour on terms which I say are substantially more favourable than those enjoyed by any other West Indian Colonies. That being the case, there remains practically nothing for us to talk about on that score. All that the planters have to do is to make application for the number of immigrants they require, and the Government will be prepared to meet their wishes as far as it can do so. It seems to me, with reference to that particular point, that there is little or nothing left to discuss. With regard to the increased expenditure some remarks were made; but it ought to be noted that this increased expenditure has also been for value received, and has been provided for by an increased revenue which was not the result of increased taxation; and this is an important fact. The increased expenditure does not mean increased taxation. I pointed out that the taxation has not been raised since 1869, ten years ago, while the revenue has largely increased; and that seems to me to be a state of financial affairs which does not afford any ground for objection. It has been obtained from greater prosperity of the masses, and by a better collection from the sources of revenue—(cheers)—and I think those facts reflect very considerable credit on the departments of the public service more immediately responsible for finance. (Hear, hear.) Now, as regards the number of people employed on sugar estates, I think Mr. Ohlson implied that 22,000 people employed on the sugar estates would necessarily be male adults, supporting perhaps 75,000 or more of the population. I beg to repeat that the people employed on the sugar estates are of both sexes, and of all ages, and that I believe not many more than 22,000 are altogether employed. I wish simply to deal with the facts as I find them, leaving inferences to be drawn by others. As regards exports, some little disagreement was heard. I beg again to point out what I have said in my paper, that the exports have increased, that they have not diminished on the whole, that the total value of exports now is larger than fifteen years ago, although that increase has not been chiefly of sugar; but even as regards the exports of sugar and rum, the returns show that they are really not less now than they were thirty years ago. I have only further to thank you very much for the kind manner in which you have listened to me. (Loud cheers.)

## SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at St. James's Hall, Regent-street, W., on Tuesday, the 11th May, 1880. In the absence of the Chairman of Council (His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.), the chair was taken by General Sir H. C. B. DAUBENEY, K.C.B., Member of Council. Amongst those present were the following :—

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. (late Speaker, House of Assembly, Victoria), Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B., Sir Charles Clifford, Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., Colonel Burnaby, M.P., Professor Henry Smith, Dr. John Rae, Messrs. Alex. Rivington, Hugh Jamieson, J. D. Wood, Thomas Routledge, Henry Hay (New South Wales), Henry J. Neill, Alex. Macfarlan, Jacob Montefiore, Major-General Rigby, Mr. John Ward, Captain W. Parfitt, Messrs. H. W. Freeland, Lothar de Bunsen, Count F. de Zeppelin, Komar Shivaneth Sinha, Major C. Carpenter, R.A., Mr. H. Rokeby Price, Dr. Masters, Messrs. William Sowerby, F.L.S., G. J. Symons, F.R.S., Mr. S. W. Silver and Mrs. Silver, Messrs. Francis Ormond (Victoria), John Shaw (late Madras), G. Molineux, W. M. Fraser (Ceylon), C. J. Poole, A. Taylor Stein (South Africa), Miss Marshall, Miss Bird, Miss Laycock, Miss Molineux, Mrs. Shaw, Mr. Edward Chapman, and Miss Alice Chapman (New South Wales), Messrs. John S. Southlan (New South Wales), Bernard S. Pelly, The Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue, Messrs. F. P. Labilliere, Frederick Clench, Allan C. McCalman (British Guiana), W. S. Wetherell, T. Oliver Jones (South Australia), W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), J. Snell, J. W. P. Jauralde, W. T. Deverell, John Wilson, L. S. Christie (New South Wales), John Farmer, Arthur C. Isham (Ceylon), A. R. Campbell-Johnstone, Dr. P. Sinclair Laing, Messrs. John Lascelles (Victoria), J. V. Irwin, Surgeon-General Baynes, Messrs. William Rankin, H. Edmonstone-Montgomerie, J. MacPherson, Mr. W. E. Edmonstone-Montgomerie, Miss M. E. Edmonstone-Montgomerie, Lady Hooker, Mrs. Ormond (Victoria), Lieut.-General Stephenson, Messrs. John Bramston, Cheyne Richardson, J. E. Burrell, Victor Maslin, P. C. M. Veitch, C. H. Meyer, John R. Jackson, G. Nicholson, J. S. Law, James Long, W. T. Lowdell, Robert Crook, Lennox Browne, F.R.C.S.E., F. H. Butler, John Bolton, John Cogdon (Victoria), Robert Porter, Frederick Young, Hon. Sec., &c.

The Minutes of the Sixth Ordinary General Meeting were read by the HONORARY SECRETARY, and confirmed. Mr. Young also announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Fellows since the last meeting :—

As Resident Fellows :—

Richard Blackwood, Esq. (Victoria), Lennox Browne, Esq., F.R.C.S.E., James Cowan, Esq., M.P., Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G. (High Com-

missioner for Canada in London), Alexander Landale, Esq. (Victoria), Sir Thomas McClure, Bart., M.P., James Rankin, Esq., M.P., Edmund Street, Esq.

**As Non-Resident Fellows :—**

F. H. Anderson, Esq., M.D. (British Guiana), John Brown, Esq., M.B. (Cape Colony), Colonel Sir George P. Colley, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.M.G. (Governor of Natal), John A. Codd, Esq., (Canada), Rev. D. J. East (Jamaica), T. P. Fitzgerald, Esq. (Cape Colony), A. L. Layton, Esq. (British Guiana), James L. Waldron, Esq. (Falkland Islands).

The following donations of books, &c., presented to the Institute since the last Meeting were announced :—

By the Government of Canada :

Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books, 1880.

By the Government of the Netherlands :

Copy of designs and descriptive text of the ruins in the island of Java, called "Boro Boudour."

By the Government of New Zealand :

Census of New Zealand, 1878.

By the Government of Queensland :

Acts of Parliament, 1879.

By the Government of South Australia :

Boothby's South Australia Directory, 1880.

By the Agent-General for New South Wales :

Registrar-General's Report on the Vital Statistics of Sydney, Dec. 1879, and Jan. 1880.

By the Agent-General for Victoria :

Statistical Register of Victoria, Parts viii. and ix., 1878.

By the Mitchell Library, Glasgow :

Report of the Library, 1874-79.

By the Public Library, Museum, &c., Victoria :

Catalogue of the Statues and Busts in Marble, and Casts in the National Gallery of Victoria, 1880.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, May, 1880, vol. ii. No. 5.

By the Royal United Service Institution :

Journal of the Institution, vol. xxiv. No. 104, 1880.

By H. Lardner Burke, Esq. :

Map showing the region of the various proposed Railway Extensions in Cape Colony, with Trade Statistics of the Colony for 10 years, ending 31st Dec., 1878.

By G. D. Ham, Esq. :

Ham's Year Book, 1880.

By F. P. Labilliere, Esq. :

Report of the Tenant Farmers Delegates, on the Dominion of Canada as a Field for Settlement (2nd edition).

By Thomas Routledge, Esq. :

The Indian Agriculturist, 1879.

By Messrs. S. W. Silver & Co. :

Climate and Health in South Africa, by J. Bonwick, 1880.

The Resources of Queensland, by J. Bonwick, 1880.

By Charles Todd, Esq., C.M.G. :

Meteorological Observations at Adelaide Observatory, 1878.

By John Wilks, Esq., J.P. (Melbourne) :

Fifth Annual Report of the Victorian Humane Society.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Thiselton Dyer, Assistant-Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, to read the following Paper :—

### THE BOTANICAL ENTERPRISE OF THE EMPIRE.

WHEN I was honoured with a request to read a paper before the Colonial Institute, I, of course, understood that it would not be so much the wish of your Council that I should take this opportunity of giving expression to any personal views of my own with regard to the development of the botanical resources of the empire, as that I should speak to you with the voice of Kew in the matter. Had the Director of the Royal Gardens not been prevented by the pressure of other duties from himself responding to the invitation, you would, no doubt, have had the advantage of hearing from his lips a great many remarks of much importance, which his life-long devotion to the useful, no less than to the scientific aspects of botany, as well as his personal knowledge of many of our Colonies, and his constant intercourse with the most eminent of our Colonial officials, could not fail to have suggested. But the task having devolved upon myself, I feel that the only course which is open to me is to give you a straightforward account of the work that is done or attempted to be done at Kew, and leave the facts to pretty much speak for themselves. I do not doubt that to many of those who are present on this occasion, there will be very little that is novel in what I have to say. But the daily experience of the official business which is transacted at Kew affords abundant proof that, imperfect as is what I may call the botanical organisation of the empire, what exists of it is comparatively little known to the world at large, and but very imperfectly understood by it.

Kew—(and I shall throughout this paper, for the sake of brevity, use this familiar name, which is of course properly that of the parish in which the gardens are situated, instead of the longer official title of the establishment)—is ostensibly a botanic garden. That is to say, it is a garden in which a vast assemblage of plants from every accessible part of the earth's surface is systematically cultivated—imitating as far as possible their various physical con-



ditions of growth—for the purpose of showing visitors, within a compendious space, what the different types of vegetation are like which the surface of the earth affords. If Kew were nothing more than this, and possibly even if it were less, I do not doubt that the British public would be perfectly well pleased. But in that case

should have little or nothing of consequence to say to you to-night. The fact is, that unrivalled as Kew is as a living museum of the various forms of vegetation, this is only, as I think I shall be able to show you, but a small portion of its functions.

The establishment of botanic gardens in the limited sense described above, dates as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, who is best known in literature as the patron of Tasso, the poet, first devised and carried out the scheme of cultivating in a garden an assemblage of plants obtained from foreign countries. The fashion spread amongst the nobles of his brilliant court; collectors were sent out every year to obtain seeds and plants from Greece and Asia, and the Ferrarese gardens obtained so much renown as to draw botanists from other countries, even as far as from England, to study the collections. The object which their formation had in view was something more than the gratification of a luxurious curiosity. I need not remind you of the part played by Italy in the revival of learning in the middle ages, nor of the munificence with which the princes who held their courts in almost all the great cities supported the astonishing development of art, literature, and science, which the world has never ceased to admire, and which has made Italy, in a double sense, classical ground. One of the most remarkable features of this activity was the searching out and printing of the ancient authors of antiquity. It is hardly too much to say that to the pains bestowed in illustrating the writings of one of these, the Greek Dioscorides, on the medicinal uses of plants, we owe the foundations of our modern science of botany. It was the esteem in which the writings of Dioscorides were held in Italy, and the desire to obtain and cultivate the plants of Greece and the Levant which he wrote about, which in fact led to the first botanic gardens being formed and the study of botany seriously prosecuted. The earliest botanic garden attached to any public institution was that founded by Cosmo di Medici, in 1544, for the University of Pisa. The following year saw one also established at Padua, where, as early as 1533, Bonafides had occupied the first professorial chair of botany, his duties consisting in the exposition of what we should now call the medicinal properties of plants. It was at his instigation, as is generally believed, that the first green-

house was erected. I think that you will be interested in hearing these antiquities of the subject, because you will see that from the beginning botany has always been a thoroughly practical science. It is my object to-night to show to you that it is as true to its traditions to-day as it was three centuries ago. All that we ask as scientific men is free scope for using the organisation which is a necessity of any intelligent attempt to turn the resources of the vegetable kingdom to account, for purely scientific as well as for useful and commercial ends. Our aim is to make this organisation do a double duty, and I hope that I shall succeed in satisfying you, whether as administrators or as merely practical men, that in botanical pursuits such a combination of interests, while it adds enormously to the range of scientific activity, is also of the greatest service to the community from a merely material point of view.

Without too much occupying your time with merely historical detail, I may mention that in France the earliest botanic garden was that at Montpellier, founded towards the end of the sixteenth century, and still celebrated. In Germany, the oldest botanic garden is said to be that of Giessen (1614), while in the Low Countries, Leyden dates back to 1577. In England, the first botanic garden of any public nature was the Royal Garden at Hampton Court, which was founded by Queen Elizabeth and liberally supported by Charles II. and George III., two sovereigns who, in various ways, showed their interest in science, the former being the founder of the Royal Society. The three next oldest botanic gardens in the country still remain:—Oxford, which was founded in 1632; the Chelsea garden of the Society of Apothecaries, in 1673; and the Edinburgh botanic garden, in 1680, though it has been removed from its original position in Leith Walk.

Botanic gardens, as I have shown, first originated in the cultivated munificence of the Italian princes. In other countries than Italy they seem to have grown up as adjuncts to universities and seats of learning. But in England the older tradition has always also been maintained. From the time of Queen Elizabeth, the chief botanical establishment of the country, whether at Hampton Court or at Kew, has always been attached to a personal residence of the Crown, and down till forty years ago, has been kept up at its private cost. This has not, however, prevented its being turned to the public advantage, and some of the oldest specimens of English botanical literature are the descriptions of rare plants grown at Hampton Court. It is a perpetuation of this ancient tradition, that the official style of Kew is still that of the Royal Gardens, and it is perhaps due to the same cause that the botanical gardens of

Calcutta and Ceylon, and perhaps of other dependencies, bear also the same title.

The origin of Kew as a scientific institution was entirely due to the intelligent tastes of the Hanoverian Royal family. The Princess Dowager of Wales, mother of George III., resided at Kew and began the botanical collections about the middle of the eighteenth century. George III., who lived for many years in the picturesque Jacobean red brick house which still exists under the name of Kew Palace, very much increased them, receiving much scientific assistance from Sir Joseph Banks, and the gardens at Hampton Court ceased from this time to have a botanical character. The closing years of the eighteenth century inseparably attach Kew to Colonial history, for it was by the voyages of Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, as well as of Flinders, Robert Brown, Allan Cunningham, and Masson, that the vegetable productions of the southern hemisphere were first introduced into English gardens. The New Holland house, which was built for Australian plants in 1792, still exists, though superseded in its original purpose by the great winter garden.

During the reigns of George IV. and William IV., Kew was comparatively neglected; on the accession of our present sovereign, however, an inquiry was made into the condition of the Royal Gardens, and in consequence of a report drawn up by Dr. Lindley, they became a national institution, and in 1841 Sir William Hooker was appointed Director. Dr. Lindley's report was presented to the House of Commons; the views which it contained no doubt powerfully influenced the Government of the day in devoting the Royal Gardens to the public service, and they have always been regarded therefore as indicating a policy for their future administration which had been officially sanctioned.

One of the most important passages in this report, and one which has an immediate bearing upon the subject of this paper, is the following:—"A national garden ought to be the centre round which all minor establishments of the same nature should be arranged; they should all be under the control of the chief of that garden, acting in concert with him and through him with one another, reporting constantly their proceedings, explaining their wants, receiving their supplies, and aiding the mother-country in everything that is useful in the vegetable kingdom. Medicine, commerce, agriculture, horticulture, and many valuable branches of manufacture, would derive much benefit from the adoption of such a system. From a garden of this kind, Government would be able to obtain authentic and official information on points connected with the

founding of new colonies ; it would afford the plants there required without its being necessary, as now, to apply to the officers of private establishments for advice and assistance." This was a very thorough-going scheme, and the degree of administrative centralisation which it involves was probably not very possible forty years ago, and is certainly far from being so now. But the principle needs greater enforcement than ever, and the importance of a larger degree of organised co-operation amongst the botanical institutions of the Empire is the chief point which I wish to impress on your attention in this paper.

After Sir William Hooker became Director of Kew, he succeeded in the course of a few years in laying the foundations of all the different departments of its activity which he saw were needed to make it perform the functions which Dr. Lindley had pointed out as demanded of it by the empire at large. And as these have gone on along the same lines ever since, though enormously expanded, it will be convenient for my purpose to briefly describe them as they are at present, and this will enable me readily to indicate what relations they should have to our Colonial botanic gardens.

As I have already mentioned, there were large collections of living exotic plants at Kew when it passed from the management of the Crown. These formed the basis of those which now exist. I need say nothing more about them, since they are doubtless almost as familiar to many of those present as they are to me, than that they represent with greater completeness than in any establishment of the kind elsewhere, the vegetation of every part of the globe. And there is hardly any country of which it may not be said that a traveller coming from it to Kew, would not recognise there some types of the vegetation with which he had been familiar. This immense epitome of the earth's vegetation is shown on the whole in a way which is attractive to the mere sightseeing public, while at the same time it is a great stock-in-trade upon which we can draw for a multifarious variety of purposes. I am often myself astonished at the readiness with which we are able to supply specimens of even the most unlikely plants to possess in cultivation, for all kinds of purposes, whether manufacturing, commercial, or scientific. And I may say that, provided that we are satisfied that the purpose of the request is genuine, we are always prepared to do our best to gratify it. We make it a special point to grow at Kew every plant which is known to have any useful application, and these we yearly distribute as they are wanted to the different Indian and Colonial gardens with which we are in correspondence.

And if it is inquired why operations of this kind should be carried on by a government establishment, the answer may at once be given that no private establishment could attempt anything of the kind. No horticulturist could afford to maintain such a stock of plants of purely botanical interest on the chance that one day or other they might prove to meet an unexpected demand. Nor has any private trader the command of such opportunities of obtaining plants and information from foreign countries as a government establishment has. With English officials throughout the world it always appears to be a pleasure, if not almost a point of honour, to be of use to Kew. And scientific men in foreign countries, in recognition of its scientific status, are not less obliging. It is not necessary for me, I am sure, to further dilate on the utility of Kew as a sort of botanical clearing house or exchange for the empire, because I am sure that there must be many here present who, from their own experience, could fully illustrate it. I will content myself with giving you an example which shows in what an unexpected way a useful result may sometimes be reached, and which happened to come into my hands almost as I was writing these lines. It is from a letter from Mr. Walter Hill, of the Brisbane Botanic Garden, dated February 24 of this year: "I send you by this mail a packet containing seeds of *Diplothemium maritimum*, the Wine Palm of Brazil. These are a part of the produce of a plant which the late Sir William Hooker sent to this establishment in 1857. The fruit is much relished by our colonists. The first yield of the original plant was in 1864. We are planting it on many of the islands that lie between Brisbane and Thursday Island, in the hope that it may afford the means of sustenance to castaway sailors. We have so many islands along our northern coast that navigation is rendered dangerous, notwithstanding the protection from the open ocean afforded by the great Barrier Reef—more especially dangerous to small coasters, the masters of which cannot be expected to be in possession of the latest charts, or might not be able to take full advantage of them if they had them."

As my object in this paper is not so much to give you a history of the work which Kew has done as to describe the position which it occupies in an extensive system, I shall not occupy your attention with an enumeration of the successes which Kew has met with in plant-distribution in various parts of the world. I may, however, say that besides the regular routine system, as I have described it above, occasionally larger operations are undertaken in connection with plants of special importance. I must not

pass over without notice in this connection what has been done at Kew in such matters as Cinchona, Caoutchouc, Liberian Coffee, &c. With regard to the first, I may quote a paragraph from Sir William Hooker's report for the year 1861: "Upon the Royal Gardens devolved the duties of receiving and transmitting the seeds and plants to India, of raising a large crop of seedlings, of nursing the young stock, lest those sent on should perish or the seeds lose their vitality, and of recommending competent gardeners to take charge of the living plants from their native forests to the hill country of India, and to have the care of the new plantations there. Further, with the sanction of the Indian and Colonial Governments, it was arranged that our West Indian Colonies and Ceylon should be supplied with a portion of the seeds. Of the success of Cinchona in India and Ceylon it is not necessary to speak. In Jamaica the sales of bark from the government plantations will this year reach £5,000, and some of the consignments have fetched the highest price in the London market. In Trinidad, on the other hand, where the enterprise at first promised well, nothing seems to have come of it; while in St. Helena, which by this time Cinchona planting might have restored to prosperity, the Cinchona plants sent out from Kew have merely grown into trees, unseen and uncared for, and choked with vegetation. They have obstinately persisted in living, notwithstanding the determined protestations to the contrary of the Colonists, who prefer to occupy themselves with New Zealand flax." While India owes of course to its own government the initiation and the payment of the cost of the measures taken at Kew for the introduction of Cinchona into that country, it is entirely to Kew that must be given the credit of early and successfully introducing it into Ceylon and Jamaica.

An essential feature in any botanical establishment such as Kew is a herbarium and library. The object of the former deserves a few words of explanation. It is of course obvious that in dealing for industrial purposes with any particular kind of plant or any useful vegetable production, it is very important that there should be no ambiguity about its identity. This seems such a truism as to be hardly worth mentioning. But as an actual fact it is far easier to fall into error in the matter than might be supposed. The commencement of the great tea industry of India actually hung for some years in suspense in consequence of a fierce controversy as to whether the indigenous tea plant of Assam was or was not identical with that of China. And it is well known that the Dutch introduced at great cost into Java a worthless species of

*Cinchona* (*C. Pahudiana*), the cultivation of which they had eventually to abandon.

It is therefore of great consequence to have some central standard of reference, by means of which doubtful points can be cleared up. It might be supposed that this could be done by consulting books, and if our knowledge of the earth's vegetation were more complete than it is, a great deal could be done in this way. But in practice at the present time this is not always possible. As I have remarked on another occasion, "It is not always easy in foreign countries for even botanists to correctly name their plants, and it requires the resources of a central establishment, such as we possess in Kew, to accomplish this with any certainty, more especially if the material to work upon is, as is too often the case, fragmentary."

It will, I hope, be not uninteresting to you for me to devote a few words to the history of the origin and growth of our great Kew herbarium, which is now, without fear of contradiction, the largest and most perfectly organised in the world. When Sir William Hooker came to Kew, he brought with him from Glasgow his large collection of dried plants and library. These, at first kept in his private residence, were employed for the purposes of his official work. In 1854, by the permission of the Queen, the house formerly inhabited by the late King of Hanover was assigned for the accommodation of Sir William Hooker's collections, and the continual accessions of materials of the same kind which the daily work of Kew brought to the establishment. At the same time Mr. George Bentham, the nephew of the great jurist, who had devoted himself to botanical studies, presented to Kew his own fine private herbarium and library, and these were placed in the same building, and became available for public use for scientific purposes. I cannot omit in this place a passing reference to the unobtrusive, but splendid and indeed inestimable services to the state of this gentleman, who for a quarter of a century has been a virtually unpaid member of the Kew staff, and has contributed not a little by his unparalleled series of botanical writings to the scientific reputation which Kew now bears. After Sir William Hooker's death, his library and herbarium were purchased for the nation in 1867, and the Hooker and Bentham herbaria and libraries being then completely fused, became the foundation of these departments of Kew. They have since been continually expanded and improved by official contributions, exchange, private gifts, and the judicious expenditure of a small annual parliamentary vote. In 1876 the herbarium had so much increased that

the Government erected for its reception a new hall, 86 feet by 40, with two galleries, each 10 feet broad.

Sir William Hooker doubtless felt that it was not sufficient to maintain at the public cost what was even twenty years ago a herbarium without a rival, without deriving from it some wider public advantages than the identification of unnamed plants and the solution of purely scientific problems. Sir W. Denison, the Governor-in-Chief of Australia, had urged on the Colonial Office the publication of a complete scientific history of the Australian, and indeed of all the Colonies, and the then Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, instructed Sir William Hooker, in 1868, "to draw up a plan for the publication of Colonial Floras in an inexpensive form and in the English language." These were to be prepared with every feature of scientific accuracy, but as far as possible in such a lucid and intelligible way, that it would be possible for persons of average capacity, with a very little practice and attention, to name their plants from them. The scheme was started, and although, from the force of circumstances with which no one can wholly hope to count, it has not proceeded with the perfect precision or celerity which was at first hoped, twenty-two volumes in all have been already issued, and others are in active progress.

The most important of these is the *Flora Australiensis*, prepared at Kew by Mr. Bentham with the co-operation of Baron Ferdinand von Mueller in Australia. This extends to seven octavo volumes, the expense of the publication of which was partly defrayed by grants from the several Australian Governments. From a scientific point of view, the completion of this *Flora* is a very great achievement. The vegetation of Australia has a highly marked individuality of its own, and it is the largest aggregate portion of the earth's vegetation which has been scientifically worked out. As to the utility of the task from a more practical point of view, I can readily give you a few illustrations. Of the Australian arboreous vegetation, nothing is more characteristic than the *Acacias* and the Gum-trees (*Eucalyptus*). Of the former 298, or in round numbers 300, distinct kinds or species have been discriminated by Mr. Bentham, and the distinctive characters pointed out by which they may be recognised. Of *Eucalyptus* 185 species are similarly characterised, and to show you how real is the difference between a systematic catalogue as elaborated by a competent botanist, and the rough discrimination of different kinds which is attempted by those who are merely skilled in woodcraft, I may mention that under the name of "White Gum" twelve quite distinct trees are brought



together ; eight are indiscriminately known as "Red Gum ;" while the names of "Blue Gum," "Stringy Bark," and "Iron Bark," each represent seven distinct species. The useful qualities of the different species of *Eucalyptus* are very various, and are being turned to account in other countries besides Australia. But if anyone wants a particular kind, and knowing nothing of it but that it bears the name of White Gum, tries to procure it from Australia, the chance is obviously eleven to one against his obtaining what he wants ; whereas if he knows its proper scientific name, it is tolerably certain that with the aid of one of the Australian Botanic Gardens he may count with reasonable sureness on getting it. The Colonial Office marked its sense of the importance of the completion of the Australian Flora by advising Her Majesty to confer upon Mr. Bentham the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and to raise Baron von Müeller, who already possessed that distinction, to the Knight Companionship of the Order.

The next most important work connected with the vegetation of the empire is the Flora of British India, which is still being actively prosecuted, and of which two volumes, under the editorship of Sir Joseph Hooker, have already been completed. In 1858 the immense collections of dried plants formed by Griffith, Helfer, and others, which had long remained in the cellars of the India House, were transferred to Kew, where the best of the specimens were subsequently intercalated in the general herbarium, while the rest were distributed to botanical establishments at home and abroad. The representation of the Indian Flora now at Kew is more complete than anything which exists, even in India itself, and Dr. Brandis, the accomplished head of the Indian Forest Department, in recognition of this, came to England and resided at Kew for two years for the express purpose of preparing a Forest Flora of North-West and Central India, in which he has admirably described and discriminated for the use of the officials of his department, the whole of the woody plants of those parts of India.

I must content myself with briefly indicating the titles of some of the other works of this description, which have been either actually elaborated at Kew, or more or less closely in connection with it. Dr. Thwaites, the late Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Ceylon, prepared an enumeration of the indigenous plants of that island ; a more popular work in the English language is still much wanted descriptive of the vegetation, and this it is hoped may be accomplished by Dr. Trimen, who has recently gone out as Dr. Thwaites' successor. A Flora of the Island of

Hong Kong, prepared by Mr. Benthham, was one of the earliest of the series which appeared. Though Hong Kong has an area of no more than twenty-nine square miles, it has a singularly varied and interesting flora, and has always had a peculiar interest for botanists, owing to the fact that its study afforded the first considerable glimpse into the constitution of Chinese vegetation, when China was far less accessible to travellers than it is now. Only a few days since an interesting circumstance came to my knowledge, which is a sufficient proof that the expectations were not misjudged upon which the scheme of a series of Colonial Floras was based. An English barrister found himself for some months in Hong Kong with no particular duties to occupy his time. He was attracted by the indigenous vegetation, and a copy of the Flora of Hong Kong falling into his hands, he found himself after a little trouble able to determine and name the plants he collected by its aid with a facility and precision which astonished him. Botany became an inveterate recreation of his leisure ever after, and throughout a long and laborious residence in the East, he continued an active and enthusiastic correspondent of Kew.

A Flora of Mauritius and the Seychelles has been worked out at Kew by my colleague, Mr. Baker. Three volumes of the Flora Capensis have been published by Professors Harvey and Sonder, and this with the help of some scientific friends I hope myself very shortly to resume, including in it all known plants up to the Southern Tropic. Of the Flora of Tropical Africa three volumes have been published under the editorship of Professor Oliver, the able keeper of our herbarium and library, and in this have been comprised descriptions not merely of all plants known to occur in our West African settlements, but also of the immense regions in the interior which have been so often traversed by English travellers, and which it can hardly be doubted are destined some day to afford fresh room for the irresistible expansion of English-speaking races. As I am writing these lines I hear of a fresh contribution to our knowledge of the vegetation of these regions in the shape of a collection brought to this country by the Rev. C. T. Wilson, who has recently returned from the Victoria Nyanza. And but a few weeks ago Professor Bayley Balfour also returned from his adventurous journey to Socotra, the botany of which had never been explored, though its aloes and its dragons-blood had been known in commerce for the last two thousand years.

The elaboration of the Flora of the British West Indian Islands was completed after six years' labour by Professor Grisebach in 1864. But the splendid vegetation of British Guiana and British

Honduras have never been touched. A good deal has been done to explore the botanical riches of the former colony, but it has unfortunately been done without sufficient scientific method, and though expense has not been spared in sending home specimens of timber and other products to Europe, there is little means or hope of at present being able to find out anything about them, and the expenditure of time and money has been so far, it must be confessed, to but little purpose.

Lastly—to return again to the latitudes from which I started—before the scheme of Colonial Floras had been initiated, Sir Joseph Hooker had himself, as part of his great series of works on the botany of the southern hemisphere, elaborated the Floras of Tasmania and New Zealand, each in two large quarto volumes, with numerous plates. The plants of the former are treated in a more compendious form in the *Flora Australiensis*, while Sir Joseph Hooker has himself published a *Handbook to the New Zealand Flora* in a single octavo volume.

The next feature in the Kew establishment which I shall draw your attention to is the Museum. This, like everything else there, has grown. It began in 1847 with a small display of objects from Sir William Hooker's private collection, which were placed in a building originally used by the Royal family for storing fruit. In 1857 a new and commodious museum, facing the Palm House, was erected, and this was soon filled. After the close of the International Exhibition in 1862, the great display of Colonial timbers, which was so prominent a feature on that occasion, was transferred to Kew, and the large building originally used as an Orangery, and the contents of which had been removed to the new winter garden, was fitted up for the purpose. At the time the Museum of Economic Botany at Kew was commenced, it stood alone in the world as an institution of the kind. It contains, it is true, a large number of objects of purely scientific interest, which are displayed alongside of the useful products derived from plants to which the structural specimens belong, or others nearly allied to them; other museums in Europe are rich in important things in a scientific point of view of this kind. But what, till quite recently, no museum attempted to display, was the illustration of every possible use to which vegetable products could be applied. The Kew museums are extremely popular with the general public, and are always crowded. For this reason, the dispersion of their contents over three rather widely dissevered buildings, though from some points of view, inconvenient, is advantageous in dividing the gradually increasing throng of visitors. But this is far from being the only

purpose which they serve. They are a repertory of information of everything connected with plants which is interesting or useful in commerce or the arts, and by no one, I am sure, are they more diligently consulted than by ourselves in answering inquiries.

Commerce is now so widely extended, and the furthest bounds of the earth are so continually searched for the purpose of obtaining new things on which trade may be founded, that the most unexpected and puzzling specimens are perpetually submitted to us for information and report. And the fame of the Kew Museum being pretty widely extended, it is not merely from the public at home, but from foreign commercial and scientific men that inquiries also come. There are two subjects which for the last few years have almost afforded enough work in this way for a single person to attend to; they are paper materials and oilseeds. It seems to me that if the activity of the human race proceeds on its present lines, all the fibrous products in the world which are not burnt for fuel, will be ultimately printed upon. At any rate the great question of the day is, where is a copious supply of paper material to come from? and we are continually in receipt of specimens of proposed kinds for identification, with the inquiry, What is this, and is it likely to be obtainable in large quantity? I am almost afraid to pursue this subject very much further, because I am sure that if a discussion upon it were once started, it would itself occupy more time than you would be readily able to spare. As to oil, I confess I am not quite clear why the world should require so much lubrication as it apparently does, but evidently one of the most interesting aspects of any vegetable substance at the present time is whether it will permit oil to be squeezed from it or not. This is a matter which you will say can be solved without much aid from Kew, and by simple tests. But, as you know, the great desideratum now in manufacturing processes is to turn everything to account. The residue which remains after oil has been expressed is usually employed for cattle food, and it becomes important that nothing should be passed into the oil-mill which would be deleterious for that purpose. A very pernicious seed may yield a bland oil, and it is a very important matter, and one purely the province of botany to decide, whether some new seed should be regarded with suspicion if it should not be actually discarded. Even when we have done our best in such matters, the wings of commerce sometimes prove in these days to have been further reaching than the activity of science; and we are obliged to keep a corner of our museums for trade-products on which our voice is, on that account, for the present silent.

The example of Kew in the matter of museums and economic

botany, aided by a sense of their practical utility, has been gradually followed all over the world. At Hamburg, where there is a very varied foreign trade, and an immense influx of all kinds of produce, a private firm of merchants has organised a Handels-museum, or collection of trade-products, which is practically the same thing. This we have largely supplied with Indian duplicates, and it is found so useful that it is likely to be taken over by the government. At Berlin, Ghent, Paris, and Boston, economic collections have been founded more or less avowedly on the Kew model, and with all we are in communication, and have done our best to support and help them. In the Colonies similar institutions are in process of organisation at Adelaide, Sydney, and Mauritius, and to each in its turn we have given our co-operation.

But perhaps the most significant recognition of the utility of the Kew Museum, is the bodily transfer to it at the close of last year of the whole of the vegetable collections which were lately contained in the India Museum. The best part of these have already been selected and intercalated in their proper places amongst those which previously existed at Kew. The residue, which was superfluous for our purpose, has since in great part been distributed by us. I venture to call your attention to this matter as one not without importance. The breaking up of the India Museum—in regard to the policy of which proceeding I may say that at Kew we were absolutely passive—was regarded in many quarters as a final disappointment to the scheme, which at one time promised well, of a central Colonial and Indian Museum. That scheme, speaking for myself, I must confess seemed to rather overlook the fact that for the last quarter of a century Kew had done its best, and at no expense to the Colonies whatever, to discharge all the functions which, as far as vegetable products at any rate were concerned, a Colonial Museum could possibly have done. If there is anyone here present who can point out any Colonial product, however insignificant, which is not adequately displayed in the Kew Museum, all I can say is that he cannot do us a greater favour than by putting us in the way of remedying the deficiency.

The work done in connection with the Museum department naturally leads me to the last feature in Kew official work with which I shall trouble you—the Public Correspondence. Of the range of the more important subjects with which this deals, you may gain some insight from the annual Kew reports. It is of course a great compliment to Kew, and an impressive acknowledgment of its efficiency, that from all parts of our British possessions letters should continually pour in on all sorts of subjects in any

way connected with botany, and upon some, such as sponge fisheries, which are not even remotely so. What we look forward to in this matter is, that when the proper function of local botanical departments is more thoroughly understood, an immense amount of work which is now done at Kew will be done in the countries where our correspondents reside. Even now, when we receive from places like Ceylon and Jamaica, which have admirably equipped botanical establishments presided over by highly competent scientific men, applications for easily procurable seeds, or the botanical names of well-known native plants, we think that our correspondents must either have little knowledge of their local institutions or a want of confidence in their advisers for which there is scarcely reason. In either case we think we are amply justified in referring our correspondents to the local officers whose business it is to help them. The work which should be reserved for Kew, and it will be quite arduous enough, will be that of appeal in last resort. Where local plants have been overlooked, and are undescribed or are difficult to determine, we will ascertain their affinities and, as far as we can, clear up the difficulties; where new plants are wanted for cultivation which are not procurable easily through the local correspondence, we will try our best to procure them; where diseases, whether in the shape of vegetable or animal pests, ravage crops and plantations, we will endeavour to obtain the best judgment from scientific experts at home as to what is to be done. We have watched with the most careful interest the White Fly which attacks the coffee in the West Indies, and the still more noxious *Hemileia* which has so heavily stricken the coffee industry in the old world; the Borer, which spoils the sugar cane in Demerara, and the no less vexatious "Rust" which cripples it in Queensland; and, not to protract the dismal catalogue, the dreaded *Phylloxera*, which, not content with exterminating acre by acre the vine in Western Europe, bids fair, owing to the preventive legislation which it has excited, to extinguish our foreign horticultural trade at home, but which we hope has failed so far to obtain a lodgment in either South Africa or Queensland, where it had been thought to have been detected. We are also prepared to report upon and obtain advice with regard to new vegetable industries, even if they descend to such small matters as a South African cane for a fishing rod, West African palm kernels to carve into coat buttons, or a pithy stem on which we seriously reported to a West Indian Government as a material for a razor strop! On all genuine subjects of inquiry, whether great or small, we will bring our machinery to bear. But matters which an ordinary book of refer-

ence, such as the Treasury of Botany or a Colonial Flora, or at the most a post-card to the Director of the local Botanic Gardens would settle at once, we think it is only reasonable to ask should not be referred to the central institution in the mother-country.

I will now briefly draw your attention to some general principles which should guide the establishment and administration of a Colonial botanic garden. The site chosen should be conveniently accessible. A garden, however well managed and stocked with interesting and valuable plants, will be sure to languish if withdrawn in consequence of inconvenience of situation from the eye of the residents. This is the defect of the Castleton Botanic Garden in Jamaica, which is so remote from Kingston as to be little visited. It also results from this that its usefulness as a centre for the distribution of plants and information is very much impaired. The Calcutta Botanic Garden, which is at Howrah on the Hooghly, is also open to the objection that the site is inconvenient. On the other hand, too much must not be sacrificed to convenience of access. The Cape Town Botanic Garden is in every way behind the rank which such an establishment in the seat of government of such a dependency as the Cape should occupy. If it were removed out of Cape Town and more liberally organised, it would soon compare favourably with other gardens in the Southern hemisphere. It is also desirable that the botanic garden should not be associated with any other institution, such as a general museum, observatory, or official residence other than that of the Superintendent. If this mistake is made, a conflict of interests is sure, sooner or later, to arise: one or other of the incompatible associates will suffer. Nothing, of course, is more tempting, when you have beautiful grounds of which a colony is proud, than to emphasise the natural charm of the vegetation by the introduction of a public building of some architectural pretension, and the presence of which in the garden may in point of taste leave nothing to desire. The result may in an æsthetic point of view be perfectly successful, but in an administrative aspect it is certain to be an error, and is extremely likely sooner, or later, to lead to the diversion of the garden from its original object.

In making these remarks, I have laid it down by implication that a botanic garden should have considerable attractiveness. To make a botanic garden, especially in the tropics, as dreary and formal as a city graveyard, is a safe and certain way to bring botany, and everything else connected with it, into contempt, and I think deservedly so. No man should be so much a botanist as to lose in the contemplation of the structural interest of a fine plant all satisfac-

tion in the charm or grace of its form, and as a general rule we may safely expect to end by interesting people when we have begun by pleasing them. The garden, then, should be laid out so as to show to advantage fine and well-grown masses and specimens, more especially of the characteristic plants of the country. These, being suited to the physical conditions and procurable on the spot, will become striking features. Residents in the Colony will soon become proud of them, while visitors from the mother-country and foreign travellers will spread their fame. The great palm avenue at Rio Janeiro is as well known as the Tower of London, and the beauty of the groups of palms in the Peradeniya Garden is admired by thousands who, perhaps, have not the faintest notion how a palm is scientifically defined. And in a different way, the remarkable groups of succulent plants in the garden at Port Elizabeth are no less worthy of mention.

In making these remarks I should be sorry to be supposed to be reflecting in any way on existing gardens. Though it has not been my good fortune to visit any of the little terrestrial paradises in which our Colonial empire is so rich, yet constant intercourse with those who have, lends me the use of eyes which are not my own. Moreover, we are forming a collection at Kew of photographs of botanic gardens in different parts of the world, and these, which are a source of great interest to our home public, enable one to see that in Peradeniya, Trinidad, Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney, or Brisbane, not to mention others, the supposed exigencies of science have not led to any unwise sacrifice of the beauty of which, with even a moderate amount of skill, a garden is susceptible. In bringing about this result, I think the example of Kew has not been wholly absent. The comparative mildness and humidity of the English climate, which is at once the admiration and despair of Continental gardeners, has brought about a style of natural gardening in this country which at its best is unsurpassed, and which consists in displaying natural features of the vegetation in sward, shrubs, and trees, with only so much art as is necessary to produce agreeable combinations. On the Continent, perhaps owing to the severity of the winters, the use of landscape gardening has always been very much restricted. The laying-out of gardens has shown the hand of the architect more than that of the gardener, and foreign botanic establishments, being often of small size, have adopted a style of arrangement which is almost inevitable in a restricted space. There is no essential connection, however, between mere formality and scientific usefulness, and the English style has, fortunately, generally been followed in our Colonies.



In some parts of the grounds a named collection of the smaller or herbaceous plants of the Colony should be kept arranged in beds in systematic order, so that the residents may be able to ascertain their names by inspection. A similar named collection of economic plants should also be kept up.

In order to make the garden a useful source of information, it is very necessary that it should be furnished with a small library of botanical books, which should on no pretence be allowed to leave the establishment. There should also be a compendious named herbarium, the specimens of which should be securely fastened on paper, poisoned to preserve them from the attacks of insects, and kept on shelves in neat cabinets. Within reasonable limits we are always prepared to name collections at Kew, but in an enormous number of cases the labour is thrown away, as far as the interest of the particular colony is concerned, as the plants when named too often remain the property of private individuals. The consequence is, that we are continually applied to, to do the same work over again, a collector whose plants had been named previously having left the Colony with his herbarium. The plan we recommend is to dry the specimens in duplicate, carefully number them, and send one set to Kew. It is sufficient for us to return a numbered list with the names. The advantage to Kew as a central establishment is that new plants interesting to science are sometimes found in the parcels. But these might generally be sifted out in the Colony itself, if a properly-managed Colonial herbarium existed, and these new and difficult things it would be sufficient to send to Kew.

A small museum of economic products after the Kew model is gradually becoming a characteristic feature of a Colonial botanic garden. This, however, is a thing that requires some tact and judgment. A museum is apt to become a more repository of the most heterogeneous, and even worthless, articles. If attempted at all, it should be on a definitely conceived system, which should be rigorously adhered to, and it should, as far as possible, completely illustrate local industries and local products. No Colonial garden, perhaps, could keep up a museum as complete or as far-reaching as that of Kew. The attempt to go beyond its own natural limits must lead to failure, and it is better to keep those limits sharply defined and ensure success within them. A Colonial museum should not lay itself open to a criticism such as the following, which I take from a very sensible article which fell into my hands the other day, on the British Guiana museum: "If we examine the cases in the museum as they now present themselves,

the first thing that asserts itself to the casual beholder is—how much there is to be seen from various parts of the world, and how little from Demerara.”

I must say a few words about what is, after all, the key-stone of the structure of an institution like a botanic garden—the qualifications needed to fill the office of its superintendent. In some of the Colonies the emoluments have been very wisely fixed on such a scale as to compare with that of other scientific appointments, and in such cases the Colonies have secured the services of men of the highest eminence in botanical pursuits. In others, the grade assigned to the office has been somewhat lower, and it has been filled by a class of officials who have done much for botany, and have been, on the whole, very successful in their administrative duties. Scientific pursuits set about in a practical way are themselves a continuous means of education, and one of the most interesting features in our Kew correspondence is to watch the development of men who have gone out from Kew to occupy at first subordinate positions, but who have risen to posts of considerable importance, in which they have shown, as they might probably never have had the opportunity of doing in the mother-country, the attainment of more than competent knowledge, and those qualities of self-reliance which are developed by a sense of responsibility. Without having the least desire to see Kew become a general dispenser of patronage, the Director has felt that nothing deserves more careful consideration than the demand for Colonial botanical officers. We are fortunate in having at Kew excellent material constantly at hand for filling up the smaller appointments. By the younger members of the better gardening class in this country work at Kew is pretty eagerly sought, on account of the mental improvement which daily presence in so unique an establishment insensibly produces. Besides this, we are often besought for employment by foreigners, and even by the sons of gentlemen, on the same grounds. It has been the Director's policy to quicken and foster this spirit, and it has been for many years the practice for members of the staff to give instruction in the elements of various scientific subjects to employes in the garden who were voluntarily disposed to attend. This instruction, which was at first gratuitous, is now regularly systematised, and its expense is defrayed by a small vote in the estimates. We have, therefore, at our disposal a body of young men from amongst whom we are always sure to find candidates for minor Colonial posts, who, besides possessing a thoroughly workmanlike acquaintance with gardening, are familiar with foreign types of vegetation and have also some theoretical know-

ledge of botany and of the principles which underlie horticultural practice.

I do not know where the Colonies could get better material than this. All that is wanted more is some means of keeping our men, when they leave us, up to the mark, and in a progressive state of improvement. This would be effected if the staff of the various botanical institutions in English dependencies were regarded as forming in some sense parts of one service. Almost everyone who leaves Kew to go abroad keeps up some kind of correspondence with it, and we are generally able to form a good idea of the capacity that each is showing. It would, therefore, be very easy to arrange, as has indeed already to some extent been done, an interchange by way of promotion of botanical officers from one Colony to another. I believe that the experience gained in one Colony would often be extremely valuable when transferred elsewhere. The merits of particular kinds of plants are only very locally known, and if the officials of botanic gardens were passed from one garden to another, they would carry with them the traditions of what was best worth cultivation, and of the methods of management, which in tropical horticulture are often somewhat peculiar and local. To illustrate what I mean I will give an instance. Nearly forty years ago Sir Robert Laffan was in Mauritius, and he seems never to have forgotten the excellence of the mangoes and litchis of that favoured island. At any rate, one of the first things which he bore in mind on his appointment as Governor of Bermuda, was to attempt the introduction of these fruits. We have done our best at Kew to aid him, though I am afraid so far, from the difficulties which arise from distance, with but little success. Again, Mr. Morris, who has recently left Ceylon to take charge of the botanical department of Jamaica, has found that his experience in the former island may be very advantageously turned to account in improving the practice of the latter. By indicating a proper mode of preparing the *Cinchona* bark, which is becoming so promising a feature in the botanical enterprise of Jamaica, he has rendered it more acceptable to the home market, and he has already been able to point out more economical modes of managing the plantations. The plant cultivated as *Calisaya* has been hitherto only planted 800 to the acre, whereas, following Ceylon methods, nearly 2,000 to the acre might be grown. Again, he found the cultivation of crown bark almost abandoned, as it does not grow so vigorously as the *Calisaya* and *succiruba*. But he remarks that "though it does not grow so vigorously, it certainly is more productive than the large free-growing *succiruba*, and by close planting it might be

rendered as valuable even as the best *Calisaya*." . . . "I am having *Cinchona officinalis* planted over all the new clearings, so that within a few years we shall have a good forest. The plants here are wiry and small-leaved, and they appear to me to be the very best kind we could have for planting on these steep and windy slopes."

I merely mention these as the first illustrations that come to my mind; if the principle be once admitted the applications indeed are endless. In the case of large industries like tea and tobacco, the necessity of obtaining the aid of experts is obvious. But it is for all the minor operations of tropical horticulture and gardening that an interchange of experience will always be most useful. I cannot refrain from further mentioning in this connection, that when Sir Arthur Gordon went to Fiji he summoned to his aid Mr. Horne, the able Director of Forests and Gardens in Mauritius, where Sir Arthur Gordon had learnt to appreciate the value of his services during his own tenure of office as Governor. Similarly, when the island of Cyprus passed under British rule, it was from the Indian Forest Department that Sir Joseph Hooker recommended that aid should be sought in the examination and future administration of its forests. The services of this highly trained and efficient department may also be called into requisition in the reforestation operations of the island of Mauritius, and might be doubtless advantageously drawn upon in other cases.

It is of course obvious that our great self-governing Colonies cannot be brought under an arrangement which has the appearance in any way of a centralised administration. But when the able men who have founded the fine gardens of the Australian Colonies have passed away, we may reasonably expect that the Colonial governments will be anxious to secure men of trained capacity and large experience, and these qualities they will find it hard to secure except in the superintendents of less important gardens in other Colonies. There is plenty of precedents for officials being summoned from one charge to another with no recommendation but the local appreciation of their reputation and ability.

The superintendent of a Colonial botanic garden should be allowed to travel, for the purpose of collecting and exploring the uninvestigated vegetation of the country. This will enable him to advantageously conduct foreign exchanges; it is a real misfortune when his time is so taken up by the work of his department that this cannot be done. The only other remark I have to make on this head is that the distribution of plants from the gardens should seldom be gratuitous, except to push on some particular

enterprise which needs encouragement. But when plants or garden produce are sold it should be strictly in the interests of the garden ; it is a very fatal system when the superintendent is allowed to derive from such sale any portion of his income.

I shall now ask your attention to a very rapid sketch of the principal external seats of the botanical work of the empire. The first and foremost of these is, of course, India ; and even a paper wholly devoted to this part of my subject would do it but the scantiest justice. I must mention, in the first place, the Forest Department, to which I have already alluded, and which is a model of thorough and efficient organisation, well adapted to the purely business aspects of forest administration, and at the same time, under its present distinguished head, Dr. Brandis, thoroughly scientific in character. Some of our most accomplished Indian botanists have worked in its ranks. Cleghorn, Dalzell, Kurz, Stewart, Brandis, Beddome, Mann, and Gamble, are names of which the botanical service of any country might be proud.

The purely botanical establishments are more difficult to review. The Calcutta Botanic Garden, which should be the head-quarters of botany in India, has somewhat lost ground in becoming little more than the botanical department of the Bengal Presidency, and the superintendent is pretty well overwhelmed with purely local duties, including taking part in Calcutta medical education, managing the Sikkim cinchona plantations, and even selling as well as fabricating the Government febrifuge. I do not mean it to be inferred that I deprecate or think lightly of any part of these most important duties ; but they absorb the attention of Dr. King, to the complete exclusion of any time or indeed official scope for those larger functions of botanical adviser to the Government of India, of the need of which we are continually sensible at Kew. At Calcutta is situated the chief herbarium and botanical library for the whole of India ; I believe at this present time there is no subordinate European officer in charge of either. This should be the seat, however, of a botanical intelligence department, where an officer possessed of business capacity and scientific qualifications, and with proper assistants, should study the botanical capacities and needs of different parts of India, and lay down a policy by which they might be developed and supplied.

At present, besides the Calcutta Botanic Garden, there are two other important establishments, as well as minor ones, with which Kew corresponds. In the North-West Provinces, the fine garden at Saharunpore, with its dependencies, is under the superintendence of an able botanist, Mr. Duthie, who

was selected by Kew for the post. And to show you what valuable functions such an institution can perform, I will quote from the review by Mr. Buck, the Director of Agriculture and Commerce, of the condition of the garden on the retirement of Dr. Jameson, Mr. Duthie's predecessor: "Through his position in charge of the gardens, Dr. Jameson was enabled to develop what has proved to be the most successful and remunerative enterprise which has been carried out in India under the British government, viz. the cultivation of tea. The wealth acquired by India through Dr. Jameson's efforts in the development of the tea industry, has repaid Government over and over again for any outlay which has been expended on these botanical gardens." This splendid achievement, which I think will be only paralleled by the success which will accrue to the Sikkim cinchona enterprise, associated with the Calcutta Botanic Garden and with which the name of Dr. King will doubtless be similarly connected, did not prevent Dr. Jameson's developing the usefulness of the Saharunpore Garden in other directions. He founded and maintained a museum, "one of the finest rooms to be met with in Upper India," and with contents the excellence of which is not unworthy of it, and which have supplied the materials for several useful publications. He also accumulated an important herbarium, which his successor has done much to reduce to working order. It is to be hoped that this herbarium will be limited as far as possible to the representation of the local Flora of North-West India, and will not be allowed to compete with the Calcutta herbarium, which should always be the chief establishment of the sort in India.

Almost any kind of fruit trees can be raised at the Saharunpore Garden; and there are to be seen there "rows of plum-trees bearing magnificent crops of fruit, though they had received but little special treatment." Kew has for years past regularly corresponded with it. When possessing but four ipecacuanha plants Sir Joseph Hooker gave two of them to Dr. Jameson, who successfully accomplished the difficult feat of conveying them from Kew to Saharunpore.

The garden of the Agri-Horticultural Society at Madras, though only partially subsidised by Government, accomplishes much excellent work, and maintains an active correspondence with Kew, to which its monthly publications afford extremely valuable information. This garden is "the only place of its kind on the plains of Southern India."

The Agri-Horticultural Society of India, the seat of which is at Calcutta, also publishes excellent papers and notices,

but in so far as these are of a scientific kind, they appear to me to somewhat compete with the functions of the Calcutta Botanic Garden, and what should be the Indian botanical department.

Besides these there are numerous other similar bodies scattered throughout India, as well as gardens and model farms, at all of which some amount of botanical work is prosecuted. Time would not permit of my attempting a general view of the combined operations of all these, even if I had the materials for the purpose. The Forest Department is also organising a system of forest gardens, which doubtless, especially in the more outlying territories of India, will be of great usefulness. But what, I must repeat, is particularly apparent, especially from the correspondence which reaches us at Kew, is the want of any co-ordination between the different botanical and horticultural institutions, and the absolute ignorance displayed by their superintendents of the contents of other gardens but their own, as well as of the work that is being done in different parts of India amongst the official residents there. This may be a necessary incident of a de-centralised system of government. But from the point of view of scientific and economic enterprise, it involves a lamentable waste of energy and resources.

The botanical affairs of Ceylon would alone supply me with materials for addressing you at some length. Ceylon, in the crippled state of its coffee industry, is suffering from the disastrous effect of a policy the inexpediency of which cannot, I think, be too warmly insisted upon—that of a colony devoting almost all its energies to one object. It is impossible not to feel the deepest sympathy with the planters in their present distress and disappointment. Kew has done, or at any rate has tried to do, everything that is possible to alleviate it. But whatever be the result, I do not doubt that one consequence will be to put botanical enterprise in Ceylon on a far sounder basis than heretofore. The cultivation of tea, cinchona, Liberian coffee, and cacao will, in a few years, no longer leave the planters, if they are wise in disposing their investments in the soil, at the mercy of the failure of a particular kind of crop. Ceylon is admirably equipped with a chain of three gardens, representing the three different zones of climate which the island possesses. It is to us a place of peculiar interest, and ought indeed to be regarded as the Kew of the East. We feel that when a new plant has been safely conveyed to Ceylon, its distribution over our other Eastern possessions is but a work of time. We have already of late years sent here the three most important caoutchouc trees of South America, besides Liberian coffee, and are now organising arrangements for securing for it the very

best kinds of South American cacaos. And when I specify these particularly, you will of course understand that they are simply the more conspicuous elements in a crowd of other plants which we have from time to time introduced.

Proceeding eastward, the Singapore Garden must arrest us but a moment. It will be the depot for the supply and scientific investigation of the countries yet to be opened up in the Malayan peninsula and archipelago. In regard to the latter we have ourselves done but little, except to successfully introduce the oil palm from West Africa into Labuan. Our own resources here have, however, been enormously enlarged by the generous kindness of the director of the magnificent botanic garden of the Dutch government at Buitenzorg, in Java—a circumstance which it is impossible to allude to without regret, since at this moment, in the untimely death of the amiable and accomplished Dr. Scheffer, every botanist who has entered into correspondence with him must feel that he has lost a personal friend.

Through Singapore we get an interchange of living plants with the French possessions at Saigon, whence we have obtained the elephant sugar-cane, which we still hope to succeed in introducing into the West Indies. Monsier Pierre, the excellent botanist, who has for many years directed the botanical gardens of Cochin-China, has recently paid a prolonged visit to Kew, which he has generously presented with a fine series of specimens of its little known vegetation, in graceful acknowledgment of the encouragement which in his early studies many years ago he received at the Calcutta Botanic Garden from Dr. Anderson.

I must content myself with the briefest reference to Hong Kong, the botanical garden of which is described by those well competent to judge as possessing every excellence. The liberal-minded policy of the present Colonial Government has redeemed this unique establishment from the risk of sinking into a mere pleasure-ground. It is from Hong Kong alone that we can look for the supply of intelligence as to the fascinating flora of China, and the innumerable singular uses to which for ages the products of its endemic vegetation have been put by the Chinese.

With regard to our great Australian Colonies and New Zealand, I need not occupy your attention at any very great length. As I have already stated, their floras have been carefully worked out at Kew by the most competent hands, and in these splendid new homes of the English race there are already, in the capitals of each Colony botanical gardens animated with the entire spirit of Kew, and worthily comparing with it. Nor are there wanting



scientific men (and I cannot but instance Fitzgerald, the author of an admirable work on Australian orchids), who hold their own with those of the mother-country, and who are capable of dealing with any problems that present themselves, except, perhaps, those which even in Europe would be referred to particular specialists. The botanic garden of each Colony will, I hope, ultimately possess a compendious reference herbarium of its flora, and an accessory economic museum. Sydney and Adelaide have already taken the lead in organising such departments of their botanic gardens on the Kew plan, and no doubt in due time the rest will follow the example. As long as Sir Ferdinand von Mueller is alive, Australia will possess one of the most learned botanists of modern times, who is devoted to the study of her flora and a master of its details. As a scientific man, it is impossible not to envy the freedom which he now possesses from all administrative labour. It is to be hoped that some joint arrangement may be arrived at amongst the several Colonies to secure his unique herbarium of Australian plants as a permanent public establishment, to be provided with a proper endowment, and to be preserved for all time as a standard of reference in the Southern hemisphere for the accurate nomenclature of indigenous plants. It is to the credit of Victoria to possess him upon her civil establishment, but his scientific services as an explorer no less than as a scientific botanist have been rendered to the whole continent, and I observe that the latest of his many publications on the vegetable resources of Australia is a most useful report on the forests of West Australia.

In New Zealand, botanical organisation is under the sure guidance of Dr. Hector, the Director of the Geological Survey, but a man whose scientific instinct may be unfailingly trusted in laying down the lines of its future institutions.

In Queensland, there is at present more room for botanical enterprise. A country fitted by every condition of soil and climate for any kind of tropical culture possesses in the Brisbane Acclimatisation Society, in addition to its Botanic Garden, a very active agency for the purpose. The indefatigable secretary, Mr. Bernays, corresponds with Kew by almost every mail, and we keep up a vigorous exchange with him as well as with the botanic garden; to which, and to its superintendent, Mr. Hill, Kew has long been indebted. From an external point of view, there is much to be said in favour of a fusion of the two; there may be sound local reasons why they should remain apart, but there is no theoretical objection that I can see to their amalgamation, and the combined institution would surely be stronger than the separate, and in some respects

competing, components. Botanic gardens, or botanical reserves, as they are sometimes called, have been marked out in the new northern towns, such as Rockhampton, Bowen, Townsville, and Cooktown. These have been lately visited by Mr. Bernays, who speaks with warm approval of the work done at the two former places, while at the two latter he thinks the name a misnomer, and that the places "are intended to be, and will probably become, people's parks." In any case, Brisbane is the head-quarters of a field of botanical activity, which has already effected a good deal, and has now all the machinery in existence for distributing new plants of importance throughout the colony.

I must take a flying glance at Fiji, where, under the enthusiastic impulse of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thurston, a botanical garden has already started into existence. I will quote a few words from a private letter: "At present I have about 500 cacaos well established. By propagation I have now nearly 500 vanillas; 150 clove trees must also be counted, as well as a few nutmegs, garcinias, pomeloes, and a great number of palms. Two mails ago Dr. King, of the Howrah Gardens, sent me 208 packets and bags of seed—a tremendous lot. What to do I did not know, so, taking the bull by the horns, I sent a gang of prisoners up to the place, hired a white man with gardening proclivities, made beds, laid water on in pipes, and when germination began, invited the Governor to see it." Unfortunately Fiji has hampered itself with restrictive legislation, on account of the coffee-disease which has broken out in its plantations. It is the more to be regretted, as we had already taken steps to procure the best kinds of cacao from the West Indies, and were endeavouring to arrange a systematic plan by which these and other plants of importance should be passed on from Kew to Ceylon, thence to Singapore, Brisbane, and Sydney, and so to the Pacific Islands.

With regard to the West Indies, I find with regret that the space at my command is wholly insufficient to more than touch on a few of the matters connected with their botanical interests, on which I had had it in my mind to speak. If these afford any fair ground for prediction, I should certainly draw the conclusion from the facts within my knowledge, that we are now at a new point of departure in the commercial development of these productive possessions of the Crown, which have long seemed lulled in a somewhat depressing lethargy. Of Jamaica, especially, we have high expectations. The present Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, has re-organised the botanical department, to which Sir John Grant gave so great an impulse. We have selected a gentleman

to be placed at the head of it, to whom I have more than once alluded, and who has in many ways given proof of his capacity, and we further succeeded in obtaining for it the services of one of the ablest members of the English gardening class. *Cinchona* planting is now something more than an assured success. Tobacco, the cultivation of which was started by Sir John Grant, with the assistance of Kew, but languished under Sir William Grey, to be again vigorously supported by the present Governor, is now at least a successful experiment. "In the Hamburg market, the most considerable in the world for tobacco," Jamaica "produce stood next in rank to Havana tobacco, to which it was pronounced inferior, but superior to all other kinds, even not excepted those other parts of Cuba, such as St. Jago, Manzanillo, Yara, &c., which furnish such a very considerable quantity to the consumption at home." In 1869 eight hundred tea plants were sent to Jamaica from Kew, and these have succeeded admirably; there can be no obstacle, except that of obtaining labour, why this cultivation should not be vigorously developed. The trade with the United States in fruit (including the mangosteen sent from Kew), whether fresh or dried, and the extension of the growth of coffee, cacao, and minor products, such as nutmegs (also introduced from Kew), are obvious sources of prosperity, merely waiting for development. Besides these, there is plenty of room for experimental cultivation. Ground nuts, which produce much of the oil consumed in Europe as that of the olive, need but the simplest cultivation, and as yet have scarcely been tried. And I am assured that "gram," one of the most useful pulses of India, and largely used even in Southern Europe, is absolutely unknown in Jamaica. There is, it will be seen, plenty of scope for botanical enterprise in the island, and it is not the fault of natural endowments if it does not eventually become the Ceylon of the New World. At any rate, I hope that the Jamaica botanical department will take the lead among all similar institutions in the West Indies.

Nor can it be well doubted that there is a great future in store for British Honduras. At present the botanical service has no representative in the Colony. The greater part of the interior has scarcely been explored, and it is doubtful whether it is even inhabited. "There seems to be no tropical product to which the climate and soil are not adapted."

In Dominica there is no botanic garden; but Dr. Imray, a resident physician, and a very old correspondent of Kew, has voluntarily carried on the work. Through his instrumentality we have

introduced Liberian coffee into the island, and a variety of other tropical plants, and have received many choice and interesting things in exchange.

In the Bahamas all the support of Kew has been given to the energetic attempts of the present Governor, Mr. Robinson, to start and encourage fresh industries. The cultivation of coconuts, tomatoes, tobacco, and lemons, are all new. The development of the trade in tomatoes is something extraordinary, having increased from 2 crates in 1875 to upwards of 8,000 in 1879. We have done our best to help Governor Robinson, and, as we generally find to be the case, he has not neglected to help us. The natural vegetation of the West Indian islands is still most imperfectly known, and suggests some considerations at this moment of much scientific interest. Mr. Robinson has enlisted an excellent collector in our cause, and has even been able from a very restricted exchequer to find him some remuneration. This is a very different spirit to that of one of our consuls in Haiti, who, on my applying to him for information about one of the ordeal poisons of that island—these being matters of great physiological importance at this moment—assured me that he had it on good authority “that all the flora of South America, the islands included, are now cultivated in England.”

In Trinidad there is an excellent botanic garden, most efficiently managed by Mr. Prestoe. I must content myself with saying that from no one do we get more valuable cases of plants, more admirably packed. To Mr. Prestoe belongs the distinction of having, in 1877, first ripened the mangosteen in the West Indies.

I must conclude my rapid review of this part of the world by mentioning British Guiana, where what bids fair to be a fine botanic garden is now being laid out under the management of Mr. Jenman, who has been transferred to its charge from that in Jamaica. But Demerara at present has little interest except for sugar. The timber of its interior forests has been somewhat heedlessly felled in accessible districts, and yet, as I have stated before in this paper, we are to this day destitute of any botanical knowledge about the best kinds. The trade in gum balata, the trees producing which are abundant on the Berbice river, has dwindled away (the export in 1876 only amounted to nine casks), though it is more valuable even than gutta-percha, since it has not the disadvantage of that substance of becoming resinoid and brittle with age. “Coffee was for a length of time almost the sole staple of Berbice and Demerara;” now not sufficient is produced to supply the demand of the colony. It has, in fact, absorbed all its energies

in a single industry, and at present practically stands to sink or fall by that. The example of Ceylon might be taken to show that such a course is not without its risks, and it is much to be hoped that when the new botanic garden gets fairly into working order, other vegetable products will obtain attention.

Turning to the botanical establishments of South Africa, the most important of these would of course be looked for in Cape Town, the seat of the Government. The Botanic Garden there appears to have been established by Sir Harry Smith in 1848; the ground was given by the Government, with £300 a year, to be met by an equal sum to be raised by subscription. The rest of the expenditure was to be defrayed by the profits from the sale of plants. Sir William Hooker was consulted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time, and Kew has always maintained an active correspondence with it. The present superintendent, Mr. McGibbon, was appointed in 1850, and his annual reports tell a continuous story of an arduous struggle with crippled means and incapacity from other difficulties to make the establishment worthy of its position. Mr. McGibbon seems to have had a very just idea of what might be expected of it in this respect. Thus in 1866 he remarks in his report: "These gardens, with the contiguous kindred institutions of library and museum, both of which are really in the botanical garden, being the only place for visitors to these shores, should at all times be in a state to elicit the commendation of men of science, as well as of the ordinary traveller and visitor." The effect upon a visitor to the Colony who had seen other Colonial gardens may be judged from a communication to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1878, where it is described as "rather small, and poorly and unsystematically laid out." Its position in the centre of the town is unfortunate, and prejudicial to the purposes which it should fulfil. In 1878 Mr. McGibbon reports: "The propagation and cultivation of young fruit-trees in these gardens have never been attended with marked success, especially in stone fruits, the soil and situation being quite unsuited to their wants." Again: "Very few conifers succeed in the close, dusty, stifling atmosphere of the parent garden, nor is there space for them here. In future years the whole Colony would be supplied with seeds for planting from such as would be found to succeed best." Nor do the gardens appear to be better suited to the characteristic types of South African vegetation. In 1874 Mr. McGibbon reports: "Two of the most extensive Cape orders, Ericaceæ and Proteaceæ, which are always desiderata in other countries, cannot be kept alive in the atmosphere of the Cape Botanical Garden." The ground, already

restricted, seems to have been diminished by space taken for the erection of public buildings; and this involved the loss of many valuable trees. It is of course difficult to decide for those who have to deal with such matters on the spot. But, as I have already suggested, there certainly seems to be something like a case for the removal of the Cape Botanic Garden into the country along the line of railway, and its reconstruction on a wider and more liberal basis. Even under present circumstances the garden seems to have secured a firm hold upon the Colony. In 1860 Mr. McGibbon writes: "At one time, only a few years since, such easily-produced things as gum-trees and hakeas could be procured only at the gardens. The Botanic Garden has not only pointed out the necessity and created a taste for planting, but has also called into existence a branch of industry [nurseries] not previously existing at the Cape." And in 1868 he states: "There is hardly a village or district in the Colony and in the Free State which does not avail itself of the garden to procure seeds and plants at a moderate price." The financial affairs of the garden have, however, always languished. The original Government grant of £300 a year was reduced in 1867 to £250, but raised again in 1872 to £500. In 1877 the radically unsound system of allowing the superintendent to farm the sale of plants and seeds was abolished, and an increase was made to his salary, which had always been too small, especially as he was not supplied with a house. The result has so far been advantageous.

The gardens seem steadily to have kept in view the important function of bringing new industries into the Colony. Except where affected with prolonged droughts, the cultivation of all kinds of fruit trees suited to a temperate climate is of course of first-rate importance. Not less is the introduction of useful timber trees; and both these objects appear to have been steadily pursued. The germs of two important industries started in the Botanic Garden. In 1863 the best kinds of olive plants were procured from Europe; the tree appears to flourish and fruit abundantly now in the western part of the Colony. The difficulty appears to be to find a market for the produce; yet, in Europe, I believe it is notorious that the supply of olive oil is largely supplemented by that of the ground nut. In 1867 the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, ordered the introduction from France of 3,000 white mulberry trees for rearing silkworms, and defrayed all the expenses personally. The following year 25,000 additional trees were imported by the Government. I do not know what progress since, if any, the business of silk-rearing has made. Mr. McGibbon also records in 1873 that "an active exchange of plants,

seeds, &c., is kept up with kindred institutions abroad. In our lists of desiderata, preference is always given to economical subjects." He has, however, always been hampered by the difficulty of performing one of the most important functions of his office—that of travelling in the interior of the Colony for the purpose of collecting, and so obtaining new seeds and plants and objects of natural history, especially dried plants, which would be acceptable by way of exchange to botanical institutions at home. As he states in 1868: "It is impossible for the superintendent of the gardens, with his present duties resting on his shoulders, to make frequent and extended journeys for collecting." For this reason also the herbarium, which was "in its infancy" in 1856, never seems to have emerged from the infantile stage; nor is there in the garden anything of the nature of a museum.

Botanic gardens, all no doubt destined eventually to attain considerable importance, exist at Port Elizabeth, Graham's Town, Graaff Reinet, King Williamstown, and Queen's Town: with all except the last, which has apparently but lately come into existence, Kew has entered into correspondence, and it has assisted them in various ways. The legislation of somewhat doubtful policy which has recently prohibited the importation into the Cape Colony of living plants of any description, for fear of bringing with them the phylloxera, will undoubtedly hinder its botanical enterprise, and practically puts a stop to any further interchange with Kew, except in the shape of seeds. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the introduction of new kinds of fruit trees, for the cultivation of which South Africa is peculiarly suited, should now for the present be put an end to.

All these gardens should be affiliated in some degree to the metropolitan establishment at Cape Town. It is scarcely necessary for each of them to have a herbarium and an economic museum, or even anyone with more qualifications than those of a good practical gardener to manage them. But it seems to me that at the seat of Government there should be an establishment—on a modest scale, no doubt—but which should be the head-quarters of all that relates to the botany of South Africa. I understand that the Natural History Museum and the Library, with its important philological collections, are not unworthy of so important a Colony. But considering how very remarkable a flora temperate South Africa possesses, it is not too much to hope that Cape Town will in time add to its other natural history collections a thoroughly good herbarium and a museum of local vegetable economic products. These should be placed in charge of a competent botanist, who

would assist in keeping the nomenclature of the other botanic gardens up to an accurate standard, and who would have the assistance of Kew in all difficulties. Such an officer the colony formerly possessed in Dr. Pappe, and I believe his herbarium was purchased at his death for the South African Museum. It would be needless to refer to the circumstances under which the tenure of office of his successor came to an end. But I think that now, as we all hope a great future is in store for our South African colonies, it is time that the reconstitution of this important scientific department, in a way worthy of their metropolis, should be again considered; and it is a pleasure to say that there are abundance of able colonists in South Africa who would, I am convinced, be only too pleased to undertake the task.

The botanic garden in Natal, as perhaps might be expected, is in a somewhat dormant condition. It is said to be a common remark in the colony that nothing good will grow there. But private gardens are also said to produce in profusion everything that is worth cultivating in the tropics. The botanic garden appears to have maintained an active exchange with India and Australia, and the last report we received held out some promise of a successful beginning being made with tea cultivation.

The botanic gardens of Mauritius, at Pamplémousses, owe their origin to the munificence of a wealthy French gentleman about a century ago, who gave the land to the Government. Its principal business of late years has been the introduction and distribution of new varieties of sugar-cane. Of these a collection of about 130 kinds is now cultivated. There is also a temperate garden at the height of 2,000 feet in the centre of the island; here, cinchona (from Ceylon seed) and tea do well. Mr. Horne, the director, who is now in this country, has lately made an extensive tour in the southern hemisphere as far as Fiji, where his advice has, as I have pointed out, been of great service to the Government. He utilised his travels in increasing the Mauritius collection of sugar-canes, which must now be the most extensive in the world. To Mr. Horne we are under great obligations for his assistance in sending collections to Kew for the preparations of Mr. Baker's Mauritian Flora.

In the Seychelles, botanical interests are cared for by the Chief Commissioner. We have supplied him with Liberian coffee, and are preparing to forward the cola nut and other plants.

And here I must not forget to mention Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's Political Agent at Zanzibar, who is indefatigable in the midst of arduous official work in procuring for us botanical novelties of



every kind. To his energies are largely to be attributed the development of the trade in East African caoutchouc, of which through his aid we now have two kinds in cultivation at Kew. With our settlements on the West Coast of the Continent we have also occasional correspondence, and from Cape Coast we obtained in 1872, and grew at Kew for the first time in Europe, the celebrated Liberian coffee, since distributed by us to so many parts of the world. It is much to be wished that at some point in Western tropical Africa a botanical station could be established.

The great length to which this paper has run prevents my entering upon the subject—in itself well worthy of your attention at some other hands—of colonial forest management. I can only urge as a palliation of my prolixity the strong personal interest I feel in my subject, and the irrepressible propensity of my material to grow under my pen. I hope you will at least gather from what I have said that Kew, though a scientific institution, is keenly alive to the interests that make countries prosperous and wealthy. That it has itself grown and flourished under its past and present chiefs is not, I think, so much dependent upon merits upon which it would not be becoming for me to dwell, as because the principles of its administration have been essentially English and practical. It has steadily set itself to do every kind of public work which is connected with botanical science. It was never launched with a theoretically complete equipment and constitution, but it has slowly earned every advantage that has been conceded to it, and as its labours have been enlarged, so its capacity for their performance has been increased.

#### DISCUSSION.

Sir JOSEPH D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I., and C.B. : Having been called upon to say a few words in reference to this interesting lecture which we have heard, I may begin by stating that Mr. Dyer has well established his position, that the enterprise of the Empire is a subject of vast importance to our Colonial possessions. His lecture dealt in a straightforward and effectual manner with the available means of providing food, raiment, materials for construction, and sources of industry for that vastly increasing population of the globe, which is, perhaps, more largely represented in the English Colonies than it is in any other countries. Not only did it do this, but it dealt with the subject of clothing vast tracts with forests, and thereby ameliorating climate, and with what is, perhaps, of more importance still—the means of repairing that inordinate waste of vegetation and vegetable produce which accompanies our

civilisation in all parts of the world. (Hear, hear.) It has often struck me that an intelligent and observant traveller traversing the globe may well ask himself whether man, as a civilising agent, is more a constructive or a destructive animal. (Laughter.) For, go where you will, you find evidences of vast areas reclaimed from a state of nature and covered with crops of all sorts; but you do not observe that in all cases where these operations have been conducted upon a considerable scale, and during a considerable number of years, that perhaps equally great areas are denuded of their vegetable products, through the haste for realising rapid returns from a rich and virgin soil. Let me take some instances. Many here must have visited the beautiful island of Madeira. Now, what do we read in respect of its pristine condition? Why, that when it was discovered, it was clothed with forests of such magnificence that it received its distinctive Portuguese name on that account; and that, a few years after it was discovered, these forests were ravaged by fires that continued to burn for seven long years, so that the native timber was at once reduced to a minimum, and confined to almost inaccessible parts of the island; and that now materials for construction have actually to be imported for the use of its inhabitants; and the amount of vegetation introduced during the 300 years that have elapsed since the destruction of the forests is a mere fraction of what nature had originally provided it with. Again, when St. Helena was discovered, it was clothed to the very water's edge with forests, the trees of which are described as weeping over the waves. What has been the result of man's advent, and of his civilisation? It has been utterly to destroy the forests by the reckless felling for fuel and the introduction of goats; so that the greater part of the place is now actually a desert. Its inhabitants have to depend on importation for fuel, and for timber too. And what return in vegetation has civilisation effected here? It is all but confined to a scanty crop of oranges, sold at a high price to occasional ships, and an abortive attempt to introduce the cinchona bark, for which both the climate and soil are admirably fitted, but which has been abandoned, chiefly because of the apathy of the colonists. Turning to larger and better known places, I will select as examples one from the Old world, the other from the New—Ceylon and Jamaica. In both these highly-favoured spots, areas computed at many thousand of acres which were once clothed with magnificent forests, and subsequently devoted to sugar and coffee, are actually thrown out of cultivation, from the exhaustion of the soil by over-production, so that now their utilisation for food products is one of the gravest problems which the Colonists

have to meet and to solve. To the check of this waste of Nature's beneficent gifts, and the introduction of useful plants suited to meet its disastrous consequences, the efforts of Colonial gardens and of their superintendents should be specially directed. Mr. Dyer's able lecture has indicated the means to be employed, and the aid which Kew can give, and your Chairman having done me the honour of asking me to introduce the discussion of its subject-matter by members of the Institute here present, I would beg leave to call upon those who have a practical knowledge of our Colonial botanical gardens, to give us the benefit of their experience of their nature and working, and of their opinions as to what they may do towards carrying out the intentions of those who founded them. (Cheers.)

Dr. MASTERS : I was glad to have the opportunity this evening of hearing my friend Mr. Dyer's paper, but in the first instance I began to think he had cast his modesty to the winds, but it soon occurred to me that if Mr. Dyer had so done the winds had restored it to him again crowned with laurel. I do not think there is any public establishment in this country—and I speak as an outsider who knows as much, or more probably, of Kew than most outsiders do—there is no public institution which does more thoroughly good and indefatigable services than does Kew. With reference to the subject which has occupied us principally to-night, the utility of the Colonial botanic gardens, I may say this, that private individuals have no means, and especially have no patience, to institute the experiments there performed. Very often it is necessary in a tropical country, as in other countries, to institute a series of experiments which are unremunerative in the first instance, and which take up a deal of time that few ordinary individuals could afford to give. But those experiments are the proper functions of a botanic garden, the directors and managers of which can alone effectively undertake them. They are in a position to show which would be likely to succeed and which not, and in that way they are able to lay the foundation of knowledge as to what can be grown with advantage and what not in our Colonies. I should like to say, in allusion to the services this Institute may render, a few words upon a subject which is very important at present, and that is the phylloxera of the vine. It may be within the cognisance of some of the members of this Institute that a convention was held at Berne last year or the year before, to regulate the introduction of plants into different countries, especially those into which the cultivation of the vine is a matter of importance. You are aware that the greater part of the wine-growing districts of France have been

desolated by this little beast, the *phylloxera*. Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, and other wine-growing countries, met together in convention and devised a series of regulations to prevent, not only the transport of vines from one country to another, but, except under the most severe restrictions, the transport of all other living plants. I am sorry to say that two or three British Colonies have followed that example, Fiji and the Cape of Good Hope among them, having adopted rules which are absurdly mischievous. The grape louse is known to live only upon the vine—a fact now beyond dispute; and therefore for the Italian Government to stop, as they did the other day, a case of living plants from Socotra in which there is no *phylloxera* and no vine, is a matter of absurdity, and one which, if repeated, is likely to inflict great injury not only upon its own commerce but upon the industry of other nations. That is a subject in which many Colonies are keenly interested, and I would beg the authorities to use their influence with those Powers to induce them not indiscriminately to exclude any plant, but to confine their restrictive legislation to plants coming from infected districts. Only to-day I have heard that the Cape of Good Hope authorities have stopped the import from England of living beech-trees, on the ground that these trees may contain *phylloxera*. But there is no foundation for such an absurd notion; and I am glad to say that the owner of the beech-trees has brought an action against the Custom-house authorities of Cape Town, and has so far gained his point as to prevent the destruction of his trees by the authorities. The Chief Justice, in summing up, said the authorities must prove that these trees are liable to the *phylloxera* or are affected with it, and unless this could be done they were wrong in interdicting their passage. It is to be hoped that the authorities there will open their eyes to the futile nature of regulations of this kind. At the same time it is within their power to make all reasonable regulations, and no one can complain of such enactments, however restrictive they may be, when once the necessity for them is proved. I thought this an appropriate matter to bring before this Institute to-night, in the hope that its influence might be exerted on behalf of what is reasonable, against what is unreasonable and mischievous. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. J. SYMONS, F.R.S.: Had the paper been a strictly botanical one I should have certainly remained silent; but there are some aspects of the subject which occurred to me, as Mr. Dyer was reading, almost political—at any rate, administrative. The paper deals, to a large extent, with the question of administration, and of course it is one on which we all have our own ideas. As

far as I am able to judge, the scheme of administration which has been sketched out by Mr. Dyer is an extremely desirable one, viz. the binding together as far as possible without actual legal ties, but in good fellowship, the Directors of all the botanic gardens of the whole of the Colonies of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I think there cannot be a shadow of doubt that that is a most desirable thing. For some reasons, those who are not botanists might think that, perhaps, England, being so far away in the North, where we do not have too much sunshine, or opportunity for botanical research, might not be the best place for this central establishment; but it is the place selected at the present time for the seat of Government, and we must assume that it is the proper centre; and, despite of all adverse circumstances, Kew has hitherto held its own, and I cannot help thinking that the scheme sketched out is a very feasible one. (Hear, hear.) I am not, perhaps, quite so great an admirer of officialism as Mr. Dyer is, and as the way in which he proposes to knock over the Agri-Horticultural Society of India would indicate. If that were so, we might as well shut up the other societies of this country. We have many societies here—the Linnean, the Royal Horticultural, and the Royal Botanic—which work well side by side with Kew, and I trust that this Indian society may do the same; and I cannot see why it is necessary for it to be absorbed into the new establishment. I do like to see the true British spirit of independence going on side by side with, rather than allowing everything to drift “under Government.” I think we have quite enough centralisation already. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the subject of Forestry, the remarks of Sir Joseph Hooker gave me great pleasure, and I shall be glad if those having the power of influencing the Colonial authorities will lay to heart Sir Joseph Hooker’s remarks; and also read a report by Mr. Julian C. Rogers on Colonial Timber,\* prepared at the suggestion of the Institute of Surveyors. It is one of the most dismal stories I ever read; it is a story of perpetual waste and destruction, and the question is, how that waste and destruction are to be repaired. (Hear, hear.) I refer to that report, and strongly recommend it to all those Colonial gentlemen having the power to stop such ravages. There is another question connected with forestry on which I feel very sore; that is, that I continually see in the *Times* and *Athenæum*, and other papers, advertisements issued

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\* “Colonial Timber: Analysis of Returns in Reply to Queries Relating to Colonial Timber.” By JULIAN C. ROGERS. Fcap. folio. London. 1878. (*Blue-book.*) See also *The Colonies and India*, May 3, 1879.

by the Indian Government with respect to certain appointments in the Indian Forest Service, wherein they state that there are so many vacancies for young men to be selected here, and then to be sent to France to study in the French schools, whence they are to proceed to India. I think it is a shame that we have not got a school in India, and that these young men should be sent to France because we are too idle or indolent to start a school for ourselves. (Hear, hear.) However, I think the paper read puts far more clearly before me than anything did before, the existing steps taken by the Government establishments throughout the world towards the promotion of botanical research, and I think Mr. Thiselton Dyer has given a good account of them. (Hear.) Some one spoke of Government establishments being alone available for the prosecution of experimental research. Whether that is true in botany I do not know ; but in other branches of science, I believe the experimental researches carried to a successful issue by individuals and societies far surpass those emanating from Government establishments. There is evidently room for improvement in many of the gardens. On the whole, I am sure the paper is a most valuable one, and one which has conveyed a great deal of information to us. (Hear, hear.)

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG : I did not intend to take any part in the discussion this evening on a paper with which, as it is one so closely connected with a purely scientific subject, I do not therefore feel myself very competent to deal. I am sure, however, everyone present must feel extremely indebted to Mr. Dyer for having put before us such a deeply interesting account of what the Government establishment at Kew is doing, and how it is the desire to encourage as much as possible the sympathies of all scientific men throughout the Empire to co-operate with it in the objects it has in view. There is one point, however, referred to in the paper, which, I must confess, when I read it, I felt that it would be impossible for me not to notice. I observe that Mr. Dyer pointedly alludes to the subject of the proposed Indian and Colonial Museum. It is well known that the Royal Colonial Institute did take a very active part some time ago in endeavouring to attain that great national object ; and I myself, as the official representative of the Institute, do not hesitate to express my hope and trust that some day a Colonial and Indian Museum, on a scale worthy of the British nation, will be founded. (Hear, hear.) Now, I think Mr. Dyer must be somewhat misinformed if he thinks that in the proposal that was made on the part of the Institute there was anything that could be construed into what he expresses as rather "ungraciously ignoring the fact

that for the last quarter of a century Kew had done its best, and at no expense to the Colonies whatever, to discharge all the functions which, as far as vegetable products at any rate were concerned, a Colonial Museum could possibly have done." This is not the time to discuss the very large question of a Colonial and Indian Museum ; but all I can say on behalf of the Royal Colonial Institute is, that its desire would be that full justice should be done to everyone connected with the Royal Gardens of Kew, and that nothing can be further from its intention than to do or say anything which should be construed into acting in any way ungraciously towards that important and noble Government establishment in the functions which it has hitherto performed with so much success and ability for the whole nation. Certainly, the comprehensive character of the proposal which we have laid before the British public at home and in the Colonies does not merely comprise the exhibition of the vegetable products of the Colonies only, in the establishment of such a museum as we contemplate. I trust, however, that while we perfectly acquit all those connected with the institution at Kew of having put any obstacle in the way of our desire being immediately obtained, there may be no jealousy whatever when that proposal comes again, as it assuredly some day will do, before the British public. I hope I may be permitted to say also, as I have worked energetically to bring this great scheme about, that we shall find we shall all be able to co-operate heartily and warmly in acquiring for the nation a Colonial Museum, which everyone, who properly appreciates it, considers of vast importance to the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) I could not help rising for the purpose of entering my protest against the observations contained in that portion of the paper, with every other part of which I am extremely pleased, and for which I heartily thank Mr. Dyer. (Cheers.)

MR. H. W. FREELAND : Mr. Young has just alluded to a matter in which I have taken a deep interest, having been for many years a Member of the Council of this Institute, and that is, the subject of a Colonial and Indian Museum. I confess that when I first heard that the Indian Museum was going to be to a certain extent broken up, I felt almost a shudder coming over me. It is not a subject we are specially here to consider to-night, but I own that after listening to the paper which we have heard, I do feel that the carrying of the botanical products of the Indian Museum to Kew is likely to be attended with very great benefits to the Empire at large. (Hear, hear.) When I was at the Paris Exhibition in 1878 I had in the later stages of that Exhibition some communication

with those who represented our Colonies there, and I told them that I had always advocated, and the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute also, a joint Museum for India and the Colonies. I was told that they had placed at the disposal of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales the different products which they had brought together there. When it was hinted that they would then go to Kensington, or at all events a great proportion of them, I said then, as I say now, "At the Royal Colonial Institute we have been against that plan, but that the Council, and the members of the Institute, too, are practical men, and if we cannot get the thing which we think best, we must get the next best thing, and must reconsider our position." Grounds for doing so have been ably put before us to-night by Mr. Dyer and Sir Joseph Hooker. We must, I think, admit, from what we have heard to-night as to Kew, and as to what is going on there, that a very considerable progress may under such auspices be made for the benefit, not only of our Colonies, but of India also, and I may say of the whole human race. (Hear, hear.) These botanical experiments, and experiments in forestry, are capable of supplying what Sir Joseph Hooker has called to-night the fearful gaps created by the waste of the vegetable products of the earth; and I do not know how that can be carried on in a better way than under the auspices of men assembled at Kew, who may gather together the experiences, not of this country only, but of Europe, of India, and also of our vast Colonial possessions. Then, again, if that is done which was suggested in the paper, and if there can be a sort of interchange of Colonial officers and persons who would migrate as botanists and as migratory expounders of the laws which ought to direct wise forestry administrations—which laws, as I am informed by my friend Mr. L. de Bunsen, who sits near me, are largely considered in Germany, and which lead there to very beneficial results—a very great benefit will be conferred not only on this country but on the Colonies and the world in general. (Hear, hear.) There was one subject particularly referred to as to which I think that this interchange of communication and readings of papers may be of very material advantage, and that is with reference to the insects which are so injurious to plants. I do think that at Kew a quantity of facts and specimens might be collected, and remedies might be devised for counteracting as far as possible—stopping is more than we can hope for—by the application of known processes, the ravages of these insects, which, as we see in plantations, fields, and gardens, destroy not only timber, but vines, potatoes, and various other vegetables which conduce to the support of man, and



help us in the great struggle for existence. (Hear, hear.) All these efforts could be more effectually carried out at Kew under the auspices of Sir J. Hooker and his able staff, than in any other way. (Hear, hear.) I do not see, although we may have all the botanical products and specimens of the Indian Museum transferred to Kew, that this will negative, if we can at any future time see our way towards it, the establishment of such a joint museum as the Royal Colonial Institute has hitherto advocated. The two might perfectly well work together, and very probably we might get from Kew, as Sir J. Hooker will tell us, a large quantity of duplicates which might conduce to the carrying out of the larger and grander object of a joint museum, which, although we have advocated it for many years, I am afraid that we shall few, if any, of us live to see established. I recollect going on a deputation to Lord Carnarvon, who took up the project cordially, for he told us that he had once about £14,000 promised from the Colonies towards a museum. Somehow or other the project seemed to hang fire. Perhaps the museum will come with the millennium, when that comes; but, as that may not come in our time, I am only too glad to find that we are getting something done, and are likely to get that something carried further under the auspices of Mr. Dyer, Sir J. Hooker, and their able staff at Kew. I am sure that we all feel deeply indebted to Mr. Dyer for his paper, and to Sir J. Hooker for the practical remarks with which he has favoured us this evening. (Cheers.)

MR. THISELTON DYER: Sir Charles Daubeney, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very much for the attention and kindness with which you have received the paper, which, dealing, as it did, with a large mass of administrative detail, could not be treated with a very light hand. I felt that I rather laid myself open to the criticism which underlay Dr. Masters's too complimentary remarks. But it seemed to me that this being a public body of great position and social weight, and Kew being a national institution maintained at public cost, the mere narrative of our achievements which, had they been executed by merely private persons, might have been a just ground for a charge of something like immodesty, was, under the circumstances, nothing more than an account such as one public body might properly render to another. I thought that an Institute taking a great interest in Colonial affairs would not be displeased, as I hope you have not been, at the history of our work at Kew as I have tried to tell it. The subject of phylloxera, to which Dr. Masters referred, is one of the greatest importance and concern. But I gathered from what fell from him that the legal proceedings

which have taken place at Cape Town have done something by the ordinary methods of legal process to mitigate what at first sight appeared to be the very great severity of the regulations. I hope that the Colony may see that the gain which may be obtained by protecting one industry might be very dearly bought at the expense of paralysing others. With regard to the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, I should be indeed sorry if the remarks that fell from me were to be construed into a desire for any interference with the usefulness of that old and long-established institution. I merely said that in some respects it appeared to me to trench on the functions which should be performed by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden. In its proper capacity of developing Indian horticulture I think its importance is very great, and it would be most undesirable in any way to interfere with it. The sympathy which I showed for the operations of the Brisbane Acclimatisation Society will, I hope, exonerate me from the charge of not being able to perceive any merit except in the operations of Government institutions. What one wants to see is work done, and it is not material what the agencies are which do it. But when two or more take possession of the same field, there is apt to be a clash of interests and a waste of power. I am afraid I touched in many respects on a good deal of dangerous ground, and the point which has been raised with respect to the Forest Department of India is one which I am rather sorry to have opened up. I know that there are strong opinions upon that matter, and I should be unwilling to provoke a discussion upon it. Of course we must all regret that there is no Forest School in this country. But practically we must remember that forests are comparatively insignificant in Britain, and I do not know what better arrangement we could make than that of sending our Indian students to the French Forest School at Nancy. I am exceedingly sorry to have unwittingly wounded the feelings of your excellent honorary secretary in what fell from me on the subject of a Colonial Museum. I ought perhaps to have anticipated the view he would take on that point. It is too large a question to discuss now, even if it were a fitting opportunity. But I think you will agree with me that, whatever be the ultimate fate of the scheme, in dealing with useful products drawn from the vegetable kingdom the advantage of having such matters in a place where their botanical history can be closely examined, is one that deserves consideration. The India Museum as it existed had no unity in its contents except what was derived from a common source of origin. I believe for my own part that in its present dissevered state its contents will be

turned to far better account than they ever would have been while they were assembled under one roof. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN (General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.): I am sure that we shall all unite in expressing our gratitude to Mr. Dyer, for the information he has afforded us this evening, and the lucid manner in which he has placed his views before us. (Loud cheers.) I am not a botanist myself, but there is one thing which strikes me, and that is, that I shall in future go to Kew Gardens impressed very much more than I ever was before with the importance of that establishment; and I shall look about me with greater interest and curiosity, to see what has been and is doing there, and, as far as my ability will allow me, to appreciate the work that has been carried out in the interest of the Colonies, and of the botanic world in general. I think Mr. Dyer was not quite accurate in saying that the principal objects to be cared for in the projected Colonial Museum would be manufactured articles, because, if I understand rightly, we also wish to exhibit as much raw material as possible, in order that the manufacturers of this country may be able to see what they can get from the different parts of the world to convert into the manufactured article. Therefore, I think that raw material will form a considerable portion of our exhibits, when we arrive at that millenium Mr. Freeland has spoken of. It only remains now for me to ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Dyer for his paper, and the pleasure as well as the instruction we have all derived to-night from hearing it. (Applause.)

## EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday, the 8th June, 1880, at St. James's Hall, Regent Street, W. In the unavoidable absence of His Grace the Duke of Manchester, Vice-President, Chairman of Council, the chair was taken by Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD, Member of Council.

Amongst those present were the following :—

Sir Arthur E. Kennedy, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Governor of Queensland), Sir Samuel Rowe, K.C.M.G. (Governor of the West African Settlements), the Earl of Denbigh, Sir Edward S. Stafford, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of New Zealand), Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Lady Clifford, Mr. Arthur Moore, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. George Clifford, Sir John Coode, the Rev. J. J. Halcombe, Capt. W. Parfitt, Messrs. Robert Porter (New Zealand), W. C. Morgan, Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., Messrs. Alexander Macfarlan, James Dalrymple, Setna E. Mannookjee (India), Messrs. Allan C. McCalman (British Guiana), Henry A. de Colyar, J. D. Wood, James Malcolm (New Zealand), A. J. Malcolm (New Zealand), John McConnell (British Guiana), G. R. Godson, Hon. William Wilson, M.L.C. (Victoria), Messrs. Alexander Reid (British Guiana), Edmund Trimmer (South Australia), Stephen Bourne, S. W. Silver, H. A. Silver, Samuel Short (Cape Colony), E. A. Petherick (Victoria), C. J. Poole, W. Manley, C. E. Fryer, C. D. Buckler, Henry Kimber, W. Sang, J. Bruce (Cape Colony), G. Molineux, Jacob Montefiore, G. H. F. Webb, Q.C. (Victoria), J. Henwood Thomas, Arthur Lyttleton Young, Sidney Young, Arthur Clayden (New Zealand), A. Martin, J. Taylor, Sydney Hodges, Mrs. Luby, Messrs. Richard Morris, W. H. Maturin, C.B. (South Australia), W. Darrell, Joseph Heilbek, Alfred Greenwood (New Zealand), S. Whibley, G. O. Metcalfe, John Irving, Murrell R. Robinson (Cape Colony), Henry S. Millman, the Misses Milman, Mrs. and Miss Burley, Messrs. Furness, Meysey B. Clive, E. F. J. Coleman, E. R. Coleman, C. H. Meyer, E. H. Gough, Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Luxford, Mr. and Mrs. Bluett, E. N. Swainson, R. G. C. Hamilton, Walter Kennaway (New Zealand), Miss Burnett, Messrs. E. H. Halswell, Godfrey, R. Lee, James E. Day, C.E., S. M. Hodaway, Thomas Cranstown, F. Seymour George, E. S. Owen, Major W. M. Bell, Mr. H. J. B. Darby, Captain R. Law, Messrs. J. F. L. Jetter, John Broomhall, J.P., Henry Brock, Miss Macfarlan, Miss Turnbull, Mr. and Mrs. Edmett, Mr. and Mrs. Prentice, Mr. and Mrs. J. Alexander, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rutt, Messrs. Cooke (New Zealand), Cooke, jun., J. Jacobs, J. Colner, Henry F. Shipster (South Australia), Miss Ward, Mrs. Benson, Mr. L. E. Scarth, Miss R. Scarth, Mr. Petgrave, Dr. J. Milligan, Messrs. F. R. Cobbett, W. R. Campbell, R. F. Carter, Charles Duncley (Victoria), Arthur Stirling, Hermann Cohn, J. S. O'Halloran, E. A. Wright (South Australia), the Misses Wright (South Australia), Rev. A. S. Herring, Messrs. Edward Cooper (New Zealand), W. Wallace, R. S. Bunch, James Flower (Cape Colony), Claude H. Long, M.A., W. W. Cargill (New Zealand), W. Cargill, J. Beaumont, W. F. Lawrence

(New Zealand), Henry Young (New Zealand), Ernest Young (New Zealand), Purvis Russell (New Zealand), Charles Bowyer, H. C. McDonald, Nathaniel Levin, Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.), Miss Young, Miss Ada Mary Young, Rev. Edward H. Jones (London Missionary Society), Messrs. G. W. Dibley, Arthur Fell, G. Tamphlett, J. Pope, Arthur C. Isham (Ceylon), E. A. Wallace, Leonard Pelly, A. G. Ashby, E. Pharazyn (New Zealand), Alexander Donaldson (South Australia), Edward Edison, G. Par, Mr. and Mrs. Focking, Miss McEmany, Messrs. Hugh C. Robertson, W. E. S. Thomson, Alexander Sclanders (New Zealand), E. Carlile, W. W. Carlile (New South Wales), W. F. Pillaus (New Zealand), Dr. and Mrs. Pugh (Victoria), Messrs. A. Seidler, S. B. Browning, James Gilchrist (New South Wales), Alfred S. Paterson, Reginald Jennings, Victor A. Taylor, W. W. Wilson (Victoria), Thomas S. Gimes, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Feltham (Griguland West), Messrs. Frederick Clench, Catterson Smith, A. B. Cobbett, William Richardson, John J. Durand, Charles E. Innes, E. Tomes, A. B. Abraham, Edward Chapman (Sydney), John S. Southlan (Sydney), J. W. P. Jauralde, A. Jauralde, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Turnbull (New Zealand), Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Shepherd (New Zealand), Messrs. J. M. Collyer, A. Taylor Stein, D. Allen, M.D., John Lascelles (Victoria), J. D. Thomson, W. Anderson Low, Rev. R. Goodwin, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Burton (South Australia), Messrs. Andrew Broomhall, J. Charles Coode, D. H. Robertson, E. Lempriere, W. W. Moore, J. E. Moore, Sidney Owen, Fred Nicholls, J. E. Metcalfe (New Zealand), — Swaiton, Mr. William Westgarth, and Miss Westgarth, Mr. G. J. Symons, F.R.S., Mr. Henry Moore, and Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Fitt (Barbados).

The HONORARY SECRETARY (Mr. Frederick Young) read the minutes of the Seventh Ordinary General Meeting, which were confirmed, and announced that since the last meeting 24 Fellows have been elected, viz., 8 resident and 21 non-resident.

Resident Fellows elected :—

George Main, Esq., Everard F. im Thurn, Esq., Edmund Johnson, Esq.

Non-Resident Fellows elected :—

Wilfred Powell, Esq. (South Sea Islands), Henry Hay, Esq. (New South Wales), J. H. H. Berkeley, Esq. (St. Kitt's, West Indies), Octavius Humphrys, Esq. (Antigua, West Indies), Alexander Sloane, Esq. (New South Wales), Arthur C. Isham, Esq. (Ceylon), C. A. Shand, Esq. (Antigua, West Indies), Frederick Elliott Dampier, Esq. (British Guiana), Alexander Berry, Esq. (Jamaica), H. Bowrow, Esq. (Jamaica), Dr. Hugh Croskerry (Jamaica), Thomas Norman Cripps, Esq. (Jamaica), J. C. Fegan, Esq. (Jamaica), W. R. Macpherson, Esq. (Jamaica), John Orrett, Esq. (Jamaica), George Steibel, Esq. (Jamaica), Gerard G. H. Waldron, Esq. (Jamaica), B. T. Knights, Esq. (Griguland West), John Munro, Esq., J.P. (Victoria), Harold Stephens, Esq. (Transvaal), Hon. William Wilson, M.L.C., Victoria.

The HONORARY SECRETARY also announced that the following

donations of books, &c., had been presented to the Institute since the last meeting :—

By the Government of Canada :

Parliamentary Papers and Debates.

By the Government of New South Wales :

Parliamentary Debates, 1880.

By the Government of New Zealand :

Parliamentary Papers, 1879.

By the Agent-General for New South Wales :

Registrar-General's Report on the Vital Statistics of Sydney.

By the Royal Society of Tasmania :

Papers and Proceedings, and Report of the Society, 1878.

By the Agri-Horticultural Society of Madras :

Proceedings of the Society, 1862-75, with a Synopsis of the  
Proceedings of the Society from 1835 to 1870.

Report on the Culture of Cotton.

By the Launceston Mechanics' Institute :

Annual Report, 1879.

By the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce :

Annual Address of the President, March, 1880.

By the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Laws of Nations :

Report of the Seventh Annual Conference, 1879.

By the Royal Geographical Society :

Proceedings of the Society, June, 1880.

By the Social Science Association :

Proceedings of the Association, No. 3, vol. xiii. May, 1880.

By James Bonwick, Esq.:

Pyramid Facts and Fancies, 1877.

John Batman, the Founder of Victoria, 1868.

Discovery and Settlement of Port Philip, 1859.

The Daily Life of the Tasmanians, 1870.

By J. G. Bourinot, Esq. :

The Bystander and Canadian Monthly, May, 1880.

By W. H. Campbell, Esq., LL.D.:

Report on the Soils from British Guiana. By T. Jamieson.

By Messrs. Dalgleish and Reed :

Bradshaw's Guide to New Zealand.

By J. V. H. Irwin, Esq. :

The Colonial Question. By J. Mathews, 1 vol., 1872.

By W. T. Thiselton Dyer, Esq. :

The Coffee Disease of Ceylon.

Abraham Hyams, Esq. :

The Handbook of Jamaica, Part ii.

Montego Bay, Jamaica.

By Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G. :

Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1880.

By F. P. Labilliere, Esq. :

The Burke and Wills Exploring Expedition, 1861.

By C. J. Perceval, Esq. :

*The Australasian*, July to December, 1879.

By Edward Stanford, Esq. :

*A Practical Method for the Constitutional Union of the United Kingdom and the Nine Parliamentary Colonies.*

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. ARTHUR F. HALCOMBE to deliver the following address on

### NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am sure, Mr. Chairman, you will not consider it uncomplimentary to yourself if I express my great regret that the Duke of Manchester is not able to take the chair this evening. I hoped he would be able to do so, because he has always taken a deep interest in New Zealand, and especially because I have had the honour and the pleasure of being to some extent associated with him in an important colonising operation in New Zealand, undertaken by an English company over which his Grace presides.

In speaking this evening of New Zealand, time will not allow me to travel over ground which has been trodden by a large number of gentlemen in high positions who have addressed this Institution before. I do not intend, therefore, to touch at all upon the past history of New Zealand, nor shall I refer, except very briefly, to questions of finance, which would, no doubt, raise a good deal of discussion, and as to which, after all, it seems to me that the conclusions drawn do not have any practical result. My endeavour will be to draw a picture of New Zealand as it is at the present time, and my sketch will be taken entirely from a working colonist's point of view.

I would remind you that New Zealand consists of two islands, as you will see by the map. They are very nearly the same size, each of them being about 600 miles long, with an average width of 120 miles, and they are separated by Cook's Strait. As to the climate, at the Bay of Islands, in the extreme north, oranges and lemons ripen in the open air ; while at Otago, in the extreme south, frost and snow are not infrequent in midwinter, and oats and Scotchmen especially flourish. Between these extremes, about Cook's Strait, the climate is like that of England, with the three winter months cut out, and a great deal more sunshine put in. The population of the Northern Island is 158,000, and of the Southern Island 256,000. Both islands have mountain chains in the interior : that of the South Island extends right from the south to the north, and

the mountain chain on the North Island extends from Cook's Strait to about half way. The effect of this is, that the interior of the country is very rough, and I have to call attention to this point particularly, for, as a consequence of this, and because of the extensive seaboard and the numerous harbours found at short intervals all along the coast line, the early colonists, when they came to occupy the country, found it not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, to colonise the two islands from several different points, and did not work out from any common centre as the settlers of Victoria and New South Wales have done. This peculiar feature in the colonisation of New Zealand accounts for many matters in connection with our history which would be difficult to understand without some knowledge of the physical conformation of the country with which we had to deal.

When the colonists came to New Zealand forty years ago, they found no animals fit for food except some wild pigs, the produce of a few left by Captain Cook upon the islands more than a century ago. There were few fresh-water fish with the exception of eels, which were found in great abundance, and birds were few in number and variety. But now the Acclimatisation Societies throughout the Colony have to a great extent supplied the want of game and birds. They have introduced pheasants, partridges, hares, and singing birds and the inevitable sparrow are becoming numerous. We have also some herds of deer; and there are rivers, especially in the South Island, which are stocked with trout, and so well stocked that they are looked upon by the neighbouring Colonies, and by English sportsmen, as among the best fishing grounds in the world. Much trouble and large expense have been incurred in the introduction of salmon also; but although it is believed that the fish has been established as a permanent resident in New Zealand waters, there seems some uncertainty about the matter.

After these few preliminary observations, and as my time is limited, I will take you at a canter through the islands. We will start at Nelson, which was one of the earliest settlements. It was founded in 1841 by the New Zealand Company, but is only a small town now. It is surrounded by high hills, and is a place which people having fixed incomes choose as a home, on account of its delightful climate. The business people at Nelson look forward to the day when a good railway will be run to the west coast, which is very rich in minerals, and there is no doubt that the mineral products will be unlimited as soon as the formation of the necessary railways allows of their being profitably worked. The west coast settlements between the sea and the mountains were



brought into existence by the gold discoveries, and a large population was for some years engaged in gold-mining there; but of late years the population has preferred the more certain profits of an agricultural employment to the uncertain yield of the gold diggings.

Leaving the west coast settlements with this brief notice, we proceed to Lyttelton, the chief port of the great South Island plains. It is one of the largest ports in the Colony, and it is usually filled with shipping, to transport the produce of the plains. Leaving Lyttelton we move on to the town of Christchurch, which is three miles away. It is called the City of the Plains; and to get at the city you have to go through a tunnel three miles long. Now this very tunnel shows the fallacy of the outcry often raised against the expenditure on public works in a new country. When the tunnel was first proposed by Mr. Moorhouse, the then Superintendent of Canterbury, a cry was raised that Canterbury would be utterly ruined by the expenditure of £240,000 on such a work. However, the tunnel was made, spite of the opposition of many of the best and wealthiest and most influential men in that part of the Colony. With its completion the province of Canterbury entered upon a new era of progress and prosperity, the direct and immediate consequence of the formation of this improved access to its seaport; and now, without the facilities afforded by this tunnel, not all the king's horses and all the king's men could bring the produce of Canterbury to its port. Coming now to the town of Christchurch, I may say that it is one of the first, if not the first, of the New Zealand towns. It is settled by a population of some 40,000, many of whom are wealthy men. At Christchurch you may find all the appliances of European civilisation. Moving from the railway station in a hansom cab to an hotel or club, the first thing to attract attention is a magnificent cathedral, the walls of which are rising gradually above the ground, and the tracery of the east window just completed gives an indication of the beauty and general character of the design. Other large churches, built of stone or wood, appear in different parts of the town; a well-filled museum, public libraries, large schools, and all other public buildings required by such a population, are also to be found; and among other institutions is a collegiate school, numbering 200 scholars of a higher class, which has all the accessories of an English public school, and quite as high a tone and standard of education. And if the traveller visits any gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, he finds all the surroundings of an English property and household. Entering the garden, English trees are growing and English flowers, with many other plants which would

not flourish in this colder climate. He will hear the lark singing above him, and see the blackbird and the thrush in the shrubberies around; and on entering the house, there too will be found the same surroundings ordinarily observable in any English house or drawing-room, even to the old china hung upon the walls. Returning now to the railway station, we will stop a while to describe the journey we are about to take, as it was ten years ago. In 1870 you started in a coach that would hold about fourteen people, very uncomfortably indeed, and you travelled along a dusty road, very rough, crossing river beds some two miles in width, at great risk and inconvenience to all concerned; and thus the journey to Dunedin, a distance of 200 miles, took three days, and very often four or five, and sometimes you did not get there for a week. If you wanted to go on to Invercargill, it took another week, and all the way you saw nothing but plains covered with short grass. It looked the most dreary and desolate place you could possibly see, and on the way no extensive cultivation was visible. In 1880 we may take the express train, and are carried very easily to Dunedin, and in another day to Invercargill, another 200 miles. We can go 600 miles continuously on the railway, and as we go what do we find? Instead of a desolate plain, corn fields appear as far as the eye can reach, and at intervals between the corn fields large English grass paddocks, covered with Lincoln sheep and cattle taken from the finest herds in England. At every few miles new townships are rising up. Everything has a new look; but everywhere are seen signs of prosperity and growth. At every little township are churches, chapels, and public schools. We shall also find, as the express rushes by, long trains, carrying wheat and wool, and other rich produce of these plains, waiting to be shunted on; and branch railways and roads, bringing the rich produce of the country from the sea on the one side and the hills on the other. (Cheers.) I saw myself, when I was passing there last year, one paddock of 1,000 acres. It had been all in wheat. At the time I went through they were taking the wheat off the land. There was a gang of some six reapers and binders at work; and a steam threshing machine, in the corner of the field, was threshing what had been reaped a day or two before. A large gang of double and treble furrow ploughs was following as the corn was taken off the field, and turning up the ground at the rate of three acres a day. Following the ploughs were turnip sowers, and after these, the rollers completed the work. All these were working the 1,000 acre field at the same time. (Cheers.) If the railways had not been made, it would have been impossible for these operations to

have been carried on. I also want to point out the profit at which these operations have been carried on. I do not want to be understood to say that anybody now could do the same, as the price of land has risen, and that has to be allowed for; but I know as a fact that an ordinary labouring man had accumulated £400, took up £400 worth of land—that is 200 acres—in the Canterbury plains, close to one of these railways. He ploughed it, and laid it down in wheat; and he assured me that, as the result of his one year's operations, after paying for land and all expenses, he had his land and improvements free of cost, and 30s. an acre in his pocket besides. Now that has been repeated over and over again on many thousands of acres on the plain; and the reason why New Zealand is so good a milch cow to those English investors who put their capital in loan companies, banks, and other money-lending societies is because people have made such profits as to be able to do well for themselves and pay as much as 10 per cent. for the capital they employ. No money laid out in England could have done that. Now I have taken you from Christchurch through the plains. At Dunedin we come to another large town, the centre of a thriving population. Invercargill is also another flourishing place, and the lands around them both are all undergoing the improving process that I speak of.

Coming now to the North Island, we find, as I have before stated to you, that although the North Island was first colonised, its population now is only 158,000 as against 256,000 in the South Island. The early settlers in the North Island had many difficulties to contend with. They found that, in consequence of the more tropical climate of that country, the whole of it was covered in thick and dense vegetation. This prevented their getting into the country as easily as it was possible in the Southern Island. Having a more moist climate than the Southern Island, settlers were forced to make a metalled road almost every inch of the way before they could profitably occupy any part of the land. The country was occupied by the Maori race, and land had to be procured from the Maoris either by lease or purchase. And to get rid of the superabundant mass of rank vegetation a preliminary expenditure was always necessary before an agriculturist, even when he had taken up his location, could possibly get to work. The Northern Island settlement was started in Wellington by the New Zealand Company in the year 1839. In Wellington they found a port and nothing else, and before they could get into the country they had to pierce through a mountain range of forty miles on the one side and thirty on the other. But, being Englishmen, they persevered, and

gradually spread out into the country, and now they have made a considerable number of settlements, and have achieved great successes. Wanganui is one of these, the outlet of a large, rich agricultural country. In the midst of this district is the Manchester block, so called after His Grace, the Chairman of this Institution and President of the Emigrant and Colonists Aid Corporation. On this Manchester block the Corporation established a large settlement six years ago, and there is now upon it a thriving population of nearly 8,000 people. This is another instance of what it is possible to do as the result of the Public Works policy. Before the railway to this block was made, it would have been impossible to colonise it. The land was entirely covered with timber, and the timber is the chief export from it. Without the railway this timber could not have been carried; and the effect of the opening of the railway is not only that the persons producing the timber can find a market for it, but that the consumers get the timber at a reduction of from 6s. to 8s. per 100 ft., being the saving in carriage by railway transport.

Taranaki has been the scene of Maori troubles in former days, but is now progressing. Auckland is a large, thriving, and beautiful city. Tauranga is the site of Mr. Vesey Stewart's successful special settlements; and coming round to Napier, also a flourishing country settlement, we complete the circuit of the island. All these settlements still remain practically isolated and separated from each other. They have all had this Maori difficulty to contend with, which has kept them within limited boundaries. The consequence is that, while the settlers have improved the land more thoroughly than has generally been done in the Southern Island, and the results are exceedingly good, still they have not been able to get right into their country as the Southern Island people have. Until the Public Works policy was initiated, it was absolutely impossible for the settlers to drive from one part to another of the North Island overland, excepting from Wellington to Wanganui. But since the Public Works have been carried on roads have been made which connect them all. Those roads are made for the most part through Maori land, and of course as yet have returned no benefit to the revenue. They have, however, opened large tracts of country which are at present unoccupied, and which now offer a field for profitable investment.

I have drawn out an abstract of statistics to show the progress of New Zealand during twenty years to December 31, 1878, which was the latest date to which reliable returns could be got. This abstract covers two decades; the first period, from 1858 to 1868,

shows the great jump made by the Colony as a consequence of the gold discovery. The second period, from 1868 to 1878, shows the rapid progress made as the result of the Public Works policy and emigration, notwithstanding that the gold field products have fallen off very considerably. It will be seen that in 1858 the population was 59,000 (speaking in round numbers); in 1868 it had increased to 220,000; in 1870 it had reached 482,000. The cultivated land was 141,000 acres in 1858; but it had increased to 700,000 acres in 1868; and then, again, to 8,525,000 acres in 1878. (Cheers.) These statistics also show the increase of stock in the same ratio. Sheep had increased from 1,528,000 in 1858, to 8,700,000 in 1868; and from 1868 to 1878 they had increased to 18,000,000, and the exports had increased from £488,000 in 1858, to £4,268,000 in 1868; and from £4,268,000 to £6,000,000 in 1878. Attention must also be directed to this fact, which might escape observation; but it is really necessary to the right estimate of what was going on in the Colony. Looking at the export of gold, it shows that, while in 1868 there was £2,500,000 worth of gold exported, in 1878 it fell to £1,240,000; and yet, notwithstanding this large falling off in the gold, the exports, as a whole, increased to £6,000,000. Thus the agricultural exports of wool and wheat have really not only made up the deficiency of £1,000,000 in gold, but also added £2,000,000 to the general total. I will, however, refer you to the abstract, and not trouble you with any other statistics, except to show what has been done by the Public Works expenditure. In 1868 there were 1,400 miles of telegraphs open; in 1878 there were 8,400 miles. In 1878 the railway works were in their infancy, and only 145 miles open; but in 1878 we had 1,089 miles of working railways.

Now to touch very shortly on finance. There is no doubt a depression at the present time, and there has been for some few months past, as there has been in England and over all the British-speaking Colonies to a very great extent. The depression in New Zealand was chiefly caused by the fall in the wool about a year ago. I think I am under the mark (and I might refer to our Chairman, who is interested in wool) when I say that the fall in wool was 4d. a lb. all round. Well, 4d. a lb. fall in wool means a million of money less to the residents of the Colony for the purposes of improvement. It does not make so much perceptible difference to the wool-growers themselves, especially the larger ones, because all they do when wool falls in the market is to stop their improvements and reduce the amount of labour employed. But the trade and all the industries in the Colony are appreciably affected. In fact, the wool market is a sort of barometer, which records the rise and fall

of local prosperity. No doubt, also, that our public debt is heavy. I have heard it spoken of with alarm, not only in England, but in the Colony, by a great many people who have not troubled themselves very much to look into it, or have not gone thoroughly into the figures. I will not touch at length upon the question of our indebtedness and its effect upon the Colony, because I do not want to raise a discussion upon that subject, and the Colony has an active Agent-General in Sir Julius Vogel, who is more able to defend the Colonial finance than I am. I accept the opinions expressed by Archibald Hamilton, Esq., in a paper on the "Recent Economical Progress in New Zealand," which was read at the Statistical Society in London in 1877. Mr. Hamilton is recognised as an able financier, and is certainly an impartial man as far as New Zealand is concerned. He lays down two or three very distinct propositions. One is, that there is no parallel at all between the public debt of New Zealand, expended on reproductive works, and that of the old country, where the National Debt represents war expenditure, or at all events is not reproductive. He also says: "Against the Colonial debt we have to place on the credit side the value of the roads, railways, and Public Works, so that, in point of fact, assuming these to be worth their cost, the public debt of the Colony is amply covered by sound public assets, independently altogether of the ordinary taxable resources of the community, which for its numbers is one of the wealthiest and most thriving in the world." He goes on to say: "The pressure of a public debt on a community is not to be estimated by the simple process of counting heads. Regard must be had to the wealth and resources of the population." The conclusions drawn by Mr. Archibald Hamilton were: "That there was no reason to fear the liabilities had outrun either public or private resources, and he had not the slightest doubt that the railways would return the interest on the cost of their construction in a few years." The arguments which led Mr. Hamilton to these conclusions in 1877 hold equally good at the present time. Every mile of constructed railway pays interest at once of 2½ per cent., although the lines are now in a disjointed and unfinished state; but in a short time, when they are completed, and the population has increased, they will pay a higher interest. In the meantime the colonists can afford to pay the balance of interest due on railway loans, because they are saving in the cost of carriage over and over again what they have to pay in the shape of taxation. The wealth of the population is, moreover, shown by the rate of labourers' wages, which certainly average £100 a year, and by the ease with which the steady workman can, in a very few

years, become an independent and even wealthy freehold farmer. Coming now to the question of taxation. What is the actual taxation which the New Zealand colonist has to pay? I hear it said, and I have seen it printed very often, that the public debt alone imposes a taxation upon the people of £8 8s. per annum. This is incorrect, for the whole of the taxation at the present time paid by the people is £1,512,000, made up as follows:—Customs, £1,200,000; stamps, £105,000; land tax, £147,000; being £3 10s. per head in a population of 480,000. This taxation is all that is required to meet expenses of government and interest on loans. The rest of the Colonial revenue is derived, not from taxation, but by receipts “for services rendered, and by sales of land.” Last year the land tax was imposed, bringing in £147,000, and this extra taxation was required because the land revenue had considerably fallen off, partly as a consequence of the general depression and the scarcity of money available for the purchase of land, and partly because the Government had (as I think very prudently indeed), withheld large blocks of land on the Southern Island from the market while railways were being made, in order that the Government, instead of private individuals, might benefit by the extra value given to them in consequence of the formation of the railway. Another reason for a deficiency of revenue last year was that three years ago the Government took over the whole cost of education upon the public revenue. The cost has been £390,000 a year. Now, if the people are taxed a little more heavily, what have they got in return? Free education, and a cheaper transit by the railway. And as a proof that the financial condition of the Colony is sound, the Government have been able to say this year: “In addition to the amount of expenditure out of loan for the purpose, we will set aside the whole of the land revenue to be expended in public works and immigration.”

I would like now to say a few words about immigration, because that, as far as New Zealand is concerned, and as far as the English people are concerned, is a most important subject to deal with. When you bear in mind what has been said about these Public Works, and the price of labour, and the results which follow from cultivation of the land; and when you consider that out of the 67,000,000 of acres of land in New Zealand, as shown by the census of 1878, only 8,528,000 were cultivated, you must agree that there is ample room for more English capital and English labour to come in and do as the 480,000 people already there have done. Dr. Hector, whose name is well known as a scientific man, and who is recognised as an authority on the subject, reckons that the good

agricultural land in New Zealand is 12,000,000 acres, and the pastoral is 50,000,000 acres. That leaves the very small amount of 5,000,000 acres which cannot be used for pastoral or agricultural purposes. The classes of immigrants we want are three. First, the labourer; then with the labourer we want the capitalist, and we also want—and can take at any moment as many of them as choose to come—men with sufficient money to employ themselves, and who would not be dependent on the labour market for employment. As to the first class, free immigration has lately been stopped by the Government, and rightly too. The fall in the price of wool, as I have shown just now, decreases the power of private employment of labour. The consequence is that more labour is thrown upon Public Works, and the Government, so soon as the labour exceeds the power of employment, is liable to be forced into running on Public Works unduly fast, which is neither advisable nor safe. The Government feels the pulse of the labour market, and prudently puts a stop to further immigration when the demand for labour slackens. It is best for the labourer that it should be so, for unless the labour market is free and open, he had better not come. I have not the slightest doubt that the labourers who are now temporarily out of employment will soon find work; many say they are unemployed, but when offered work by the Government at 5s. a day at a little inconvenience to themselves, they have turned up their noses at the offer. When it is considered that within the last ten years we have received 177,000 people, most of them of the labouring class, from England, instead of wondering that there is any little overflow in the labour market at the present time, it is only surprising how we have been able to absorb such an enormous mass of labour during so short a time. But the fact is that every immigrant who is true to himself may work into a position thoroughly independent of any labour market in a few years. In a part of the Colony I know well, called the Rangitikei, which is a purely agricultural district, and which is now held in small farms by a large population, not five per cent. of the present freeholders came with any capital at all to the Colony, and their farms now yield them incomes of from £200 to £3,000 a year. And the way in which these people have attained the position of independent freeholders is this. Most of them began as labourers from 15 to 20 years ago. They worked for a few years for the larger landowners in the district. They put by a portion of their wages annually for a few years, and invested the savings in small blocks of land of from 50 to 100 acres, or they leased larger blocks, with a right to purchase at a future time. Having thus acquired



land, they next devoted their savings to the purchase of a few cows or sheep; then built a rough, inexpensive cottage, and lived upon the property. For some few years afterwards they partly employed themselves in looking after their stock and in the gradual improvement of their holding; the time which was not spent in their own cultivation was employed in working by contract for their wealthier neighbours, either in sowing or clearing land, or ploughing by contract, or in harvest work, sheep-shearing, or various other employments, thus obtaining sufficient money to buy clothing and pay the grocers' bills. Working in this way for a few years, their farms year by year became more profitable, and they were able gradually to devote more and more of their time to their own land, until the necessity to work for other employers ceased, and they in turn became, in many instances, employers of labour themselves. The Colony still offers ample opportunity for others to come and repeat this process, the only necessary condition of success being that they must be sober, steady, and industrious men. And my earnest advice to the labourer is: "When you get to the Colony, do not hang about the town. That is the fault of labourers generally. Go at once into the country, and take the first thing that offers itself, whether you consider it underpaid or not, so as to give you time to look round and find something that may serve you better, and look to the acquisition of land as the one great object to be kept in view."

Now I come to the capitalist. Every part of the Colony offers opportunities for profitable investment. The railway lines have opened up large tracts of new country which are at present unoccupied altogether, and blocks of Maori lands opened by good roads are being acquired by the Government. In the neighbourhood where I live I can stand on a hill, not 100 feet high, and look over 2,000,000 acres of land as rich as any in the world, in a beautiful climate, and well watered, where certainly not more than 10,000 people are collected, and these 10,000 are located within a radius of twenty miles; the rest of the country is unoccupied.

Now there is in England a large number of men with capital who do not find any profitable employment for themselves or their money, and this has been shown very strongly by the sending out two gentlemen from Lincolnshire, delegates from a number of Lincolnshire farmers, to visit the Colony in order to see what profitable occupation could be got for their capital before they lose it all at home. I trust we may soon have the pleasure of reading the report of those gentlemen, which I believe will be to the effect that New Zealand offers a good field for the migration of the class of capitalist farmers.

My advice to a capitalist is "Look before you leap!" and do not

hurry too quickly into any investment. There are good investments in every part of the Colony. I do not think any one part offers special advantages over another, and any new comer should look thoroughly about him before he invests at all.

As to the third class of immigrants. The man who comes with sufficient money to employ himself will always find a place.

We want also some of the young women of England to emigrate into New Zealand. There are at the present moment (by the last census) 191 bachelors over twenty years of age to every 100 spinsters over fifteen. One consequence of this is that a great many men do not get married, for the very good reason that they cannot marry without a wife. Another consequence is that there is a constant demand for female domestic labour all over the Colony, and this class of labour is exceedingly well paid. With regard to this emigration, I know there is a difficulty about it. People do not like to trust their daughters and female friends on board a ship and send them to a strange land; but I can assure all such as are so reasonably anxious, that every possible care has been exercised by the Government, not only for their protection on shipboard during the voyage, but for their comfort in every respect; and when they come out to the Colony they are immediately received into depots especially provided by the Government, with responsible matrons and officers over them, whose duty it is to see that their interests are protected and places provided for them. The ladies resident in the several towns also take an active and earnest interest in their welfare.

If I may be allowed a little more time—(Cheers)—I should like to say a few words about the Maoris. We are visited in New Zealand by a class of gentlemen whom we call “globetrotters.” They are generally young men, with no great knowledge of the world, but having a great idea that they know very much more about it than anybody else. When they come to a country they take up anything they happen to see, and generalise upon it as being a permanent and constant condition of things. One of these gentlemen describes the Maoris thus: “A dirty, squalid, unimprovable, and intolerably ugly generation are they, and the sooner they are all translated to the happy hunting grounds above or below, the better it will be for universal humanity.” As against this I will shortly refer you to another account, and when I tell you that this is the writing of a gentleman who came to New Zealand fifty years ago, lived with the Maoris, remained a gentleman still, and is now Chief Judge of the Native Land Court in New Zealand, I think his words will be considered worthy of consideration:—“I have met

amongst the natives with men who would be a credit to any nation ; men on whom nature had plainly stamped the mark of ' noble,' of the finest bodily form, quick and intelligent of mind, polite and brave, and capable of the most self-sacrificing acts for the good of others ; patient, forbearing, and affectionate in their families ; in a word, gentlemen. These men were the more remarkable, as they had grown up surrounded by a set of circumstances of the most unfavourable kind for the development of the qualities of which they were possessed ; and I have often looked on with admiration when I have seen them protesting against, and endeavouring to restrain, some of the dreadful barbarities of their countrymen. As for the Maori people in general, they are neither so good nor so bad as their friends and enemies have painted them ; and I suspect are pretty much like what almost any other people would have become, if subjected for ages to the same external circumstances. . . . As a consequence of their warlike habits and character, they are self-possessed and confident in themselves and their own powers, and have much diplomatic finesse and casuistry at command. Their intelligence causes them theoretically to acknowledge the benefits of law, which they see established among us ; but their hatred of restraint causes them practically to abhor and resist its full enforcement amongst themselves. Doubting our professions of friendship, fearing our ultimate designs, led astray by false friends, possessed of that ' little learning ' which is, in their case, most emphatically ' a dangerous thing,' divided amongst themselves—such are the people with whom we are now in contact, such the people to whom, for our own safety and their preservation, we must give new laws and institutions, new habits of life, new ideas, sentiments, and information ; whom we must either civilise, or by our mere contact exterminate." Our later experience is that these Maoris are what surrounding circumstances have made them. We see on the one side the natives taking a part in the Legislature, and an extremely intelligent part, dressing well, and behaving themselves as gentlemen ; and, on the other hand, very many Maoris subjected to different influences, learning to drink spirits, and becoming very much worse men than they were when we first came into contact with them. I have had a good deal to do with Maoris myself, and when I speak well of them I may say, parenthetically, I never had anything to do with the purchase of land, nor leased an acre from them, but I was living near them for ten years, a river only dividing me from a large native settlement. I have found them invariably courteous, hospitable to a fault, good tempered with each other, and honestly fulfilling their engagements. We have unfor-

tunately been in conflict with them on several occasions, and these conflicts have always arisen out of misunderstandings with regard to land questions. The fact is that this land question has always been bristling with difficulties. The natives are in constant conflict among themselves as to the ownership of the land, and the communistic character of their land tenure has made it a matter of exceeding difficulty to individualise titles, or to deal with any bodies of natives for their lands. This difficulty has, moreover, been greatly increased since the native chiefs have ceased to be a power in the land. Our wars with the natives have been the result of misunderstandings on the one side and suspicion on the other, rather than of any deliberate intention on our part to do any injustice, or of any hatred towards the English settler on the part of the Maoris. The fact is that the Maoris are a high-spirited, warlike race, and seeing that the consequence of our civilisation is their extermination, they naturally seek a remedy. The remedy they first endeavoured to apply, was to prevent our acquisition of land, and they tried their strength with us over the question. Finding their efforts in this direction ineffectual, they are now trying a different course, and a large body, called the King natives, have isolated themselves in the interior of the country as being the only mode of self-preservation. It may take some time before this barrier within which the King natives have withdrawn themselves will be broken down. But there is not the slightest fear of any more Maori wars, if only common prudence is exercised. Late events have shown most clearly that the natives know how hopeless a struggle it is for them, and that the only result to them of an appeal to arms is the lessening of their numbers and the loss of their land.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS SHOWING PROGRESS OF NEW ZEALAND DURING TWENTY YEARS TO 31st DECEMBER, 1878.

	1853.	1863.	1878.
Population .....	59,418	226,613	432,519
Cultivated Land .....	141,007 acres.	700,000	3,523,277
Stock—Horses .....	14,912	70,000	137,768
Cattle .....	137,204	330,000	578,430
Sheep .....	1,523,324	8,700,000	13,069,338
Exports—Gold* .....	£52,643	£2,504,326	£1,240,079
Wool (weight).....	3,810,373 lbs.	28,875,163 lbs.	59,270,256 lbs.
(value).....	£254,022	£1,516,548	£2,292,907
Other Exports† (Grain, Tallow, Gum, &c.) .....	£116,413	£167,258	£1,103,981
Total Exports .....	£433,949	£2,683,763	£6,015,700
Imports .....	£1,141,273	£4,985,748	£8,755,663
Savings' Banks Deposits .....	£7,862	£243,615	£1,043,204
Life Insurance, (New Zealand Government) :—			
No. of Policies issued .....	.....	(1870) 53	2,057
Sum assured.....	.....	£27,900	£262,320
Postal—Letters received and despatched.....	493,656	4,811,240	15,524,761
Telegraph—Miles open .....	.....	1,471 miles.	3,434 miles.
Messages sent .....	.....	134,647	1,200,204
Railways—Miles open for traffic.....	.....	(1873) 145 mls.	1,089

\* Total export of Gold to December 31, 1878, was £35,005,273.

† The increase shown in 1878 is chiefly due to Grain export from South Island.

‡ The total value of New Zealand Government Insurance Policies current in June, 1879, was £3,744,907.

STATISTICAL MEMORANDA BEARING ON POSITION AND PRODUCTION OF  
NEW ZEALAND NOT CONTAINED IN COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL TABLE.

Public Libraries, in 1878, were 187 in number.

Places of Worship   "   "   831   "

Education—

748 Primary Schools... 65,366 children attending.

73 per cent. of Children of school age, i.e., 5 to 15, attending school.

Expenditure on Education from General Revenue, in 1878, was  
£317,000.

Population, Census, 1878—North Island, 158,208.

South   "   256,204.

Population, 1878—Including Towns   ...   3·95 to square mile.

Excluding   ...   2·5   "

Lands—Total Area of Colony   ...   67,419,107 acres.   "

Crown Lands, alienated, 1878, 15,241,639   "

Taxation—1878-9—Customs   ...   £1,200,000

Stamps   ...   165,000

Land Tax   ...   147,800

£1,512,300 or £3 10s. per head.

Coal—Total consumption in 1878   ...   294,980 tons.

Output from New Zealand Mines, 1878   ...   130,984   "

Machinery in use, 1878—120 Flour Mills.

91 Breweries.

31 Flax Mills.

945 other Factories, including Saw Mills.

Agricultural Machinery—

4,529 Reaping Machines (one to every five holdings of 10 acres and upwards).

34 Steam Ploughs.

32   "   Harrows.

985 Thrashing Machines, of which 374 are worked by steam power.

Matrimonial—In 1874 there were 238 Bachelors to every 100 Spinsters.

In 1878   "   141   "   "   "   "

DISCUSSION.

Sir EDWARD STAFFORD, K.C.M.G.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been very much interested in the account Mr. Halcombe has given us to-night, as an old colonist of New Zealand. I cannot go away without thanking him; and I can bear testimony that he has by no means exaggerated the advantages of that country; in fact, they might have been painted in very much more brilliant colours. Mr. Halcombe has kept to recorded facts and statistical figures. It is almost impossible for an old settler in New Zealand to speak of that country without a feeling of great pride in its continuous progress. We have yet to see anything in the shape of retrogression. No doubt the progress has been, at times, by leaps and bounds, and at other times not so rapid; but it has always been continuous. You cannot take any five years without seeing

some progress beyond the previous five years, whether in population, wealth, imports and exports—everything, in short, which marks the material progress of a community. I was struck when mention was made of the doubts expressed as to its financial position during the last twenty-four months; and the lecturer pointed out the remarkable fact that the deficit was occasioned by New Zealand having done what no other British State had done, namely, thrown open the means of elementary instruction to every man, woman, and child in the country, without any single payment whatever. I can remember when this country spent only some £40,000 a year from the Imperial treasury on national education, and I doubt whether even now, with all the advances it has made with respect to supplying the means of State education, it spends as much directly from the State treasury as the small and comparatively young dependency of New Zealand. It is true that it has provided, of late years, a large machinery for educating a large number of children; but it obliges the people to put their hands into their own pockets. New Zealand does not do that. She does not ask either parent or child to pay a penny. Holding the opinion that elementary instruction should be free and accessible to all, I feel some pride in recording that fact, and I here modestly say that in that work I had some share. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Halcombe spoke very modestly of his own experience. I might speak of a similar experience, multiplied perhaps a hundredfold, as to the number of people who have entered New Zealand with the proverbial half-crown in their pocket, who are now in receipt of hundreds, and in a few cases thousands a year income, realised by industry and frugality—not that the people of New Zealand are frugal—I do not know a more spending people, and when they have an outing they spend their money freely, determining to make their holiday a pleasure. I have been present on many such an occasion, and I would ask our Chairman, who is aware that we have in all the settlements an anniversary, whether at any of those he could see the marks of pauperism or want, or a pinching in the faces, the clothes, the countenances, or the surroundings of any man, woman, or child on the spot? I never saw any people more healthy or more happy-looking, or who more thoroughly appeared to be well fed and well clothed. We had a warning from a well-known author “not to blow.” That warning was specially directed to our friends in Victoria. Mr. Trollope said that of all the people he had met they were more inclined to blow than any other. I do not know that they are. I think New Zealanders are quite as well prepared to blow, but I think they have sufficient

ground for doing it ; and I do not know that the truth should not be spoken, although it appears to be one continuous tissue of contented satisfaction as to the continued success of themselves and the individuals around them. I cannot speak of New Zealand in a depressed state conscientiously and truthfully. I speak of it as a country—I will not say that has beaten all the world, but that has not any superior as regards the comfort of those who dwell within its shores, and its enjoyable climate, especially fitted for the Anglo-Saxon race. It has been reported to-night as the climate of England with the three winter months cut out. Now, I used to stand up for the climate of England, and pooh-poohed the bad reports of it ; but for the last two years in which I have been in England, I am bound to say I have given up the climate ! (Laughter.) I am not prepared in future to stand up for it. I should say now that the climate of England, contrasted with New Zealand, is about nine months of winter and no summer to speak of. If England is to be compared with New Zealand at all, you must take the best parts of the Isle of Wight ; and even then, you have to leave out the excessive frosts and snow. I am referring to the lower parts of New Zealand, which are the centres of population. New Zealand is as large as the United Kingdom, with mountains 13,000 to 14,000 feet high, covered with perpetual snow, and with a coast line of about 1,200 miles from north to south, causing, of course, differences of climate. I should have wished that some gentleman had preceded me, as I might then have noticed any remarks which gentlemen present to-night may make ; but, as it is, I am in the position of Mr. Burke's colleague who, at the Bristol election, followed him in his speech to the electors, and said : " I say ditto to Mr. Burke." So I say ditto to Mr. Halcombe, and have nothing further to add. But Mr. Halcombe has had an advantage which I have not this evening. Mr. Halcombe has had the statistics of the country before him, and has thus been able to prove his figures from, and base his opinions and estimates upon them. I have not looked into Blue-books connected with New Zealand for the last three years, and can only now speak generally from a long and earnest knowledge of a country specially interesting to me, inasmuch as I have never given up my property in it, but have added to it year by year. (Cheers.)

MR. BROOMHALL, J.P. : Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, —I rise with a very considerable amount of reticence to make any remarks, because I know I am surrounded by many old New Zealanders, and who I know have a better knowledge of the Colony

as regards its general economies than I have ; but I will ask them to conjure themselves away in spirit, and leave my remarks to apply only to the young men and women and strangers. The Honourable Sir W. Fox, a gentleman who has four times filled the office of Prime Minister of the Colony, was in England in 1875-76, and, noticing the millions which England has lost by investment in Turkish and South American bonds, laughingly used to affirm that, had a tithe of the money lost been invested in New Zealand commercial enterprise, the capital would be safe and the interest certain. New Zealand is a hungry country ; it can take all your surplus capital and labour, and give a certain return. It is a bank in which your capital will increase, also your dividends. " Send us a Colony of temperance men," said Sir William ; " our land laws are adapted for the purpose of special settlements. The land will be security for your capital, and legitimate trade will give you a dividend, and be of lasting benefit to emigrants whom you may induce to settle in the Colony." These and other similar jocular statements induced my friends to ask me to visit the Colony and report ; and, in my judgment, all that Sir W. Fox stated is more than verified. " The Colony wants men and money," said Sir William ; " send us a temperance settlement, and let the system obtain which has obtained on the Vine Land Settlement in America ;" and with this object I went to the Colony in October, 1876, when I had the satisfaction to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Halcombe, of which I entertain a lively recollection. And, as I can faithfully endorse his very able remarks, I wish to do so out of respect to him and the Colony in general ; he has most certainly not over-rated the advantages of the Colony in any respect. There is a good deal of jealousy in the Colony : the South Island thinks itself the best ; but the North Island boasts of its age and antiquity ; and this spirit obtains also in the North Island, all the people south of Auckland declaring that there is no good land to be found north of that city. I went north on the east coast, crossing to Waitangi, Ohaeawai, Takeke, and to Hokianga on the west coast, accompanied by three old colonists of great experience. I then turned south, taking Omipara, Monganui, Warpoua, Opanaka, Kaiku, Dargaville, Kaipara, Helensville, Riverhead, to Auckland. I was told that I should find no good land north of Auckland ; such, however, is not my opinion, and in this opinion I am confirmed, not only by my own observations and those of the experienced colonists who accompanied me, but by those of Judge Manning, the author of " Old New Zealand," who has been in the Colony forty-nine years, and Mr. John Webster, author of the " Loss of



the Wanderer," a resident of thirty-nine years, and Mr. Von Sturmer, the resident magistrate of twenty years. These gentlemen reside on flourishing farms, speak the Maori language in perfection, and I was indebted to them for much information. The general character of the lands north of Hokianga is undulating, covered with light bush, the soil either a good clay or alluvial, becoming volcanic on the slopes of Punguru; there is one block in particular of 56,800 acres, with heavy timber, well watered, and having access to the sea at Whangape Harbour on the west coast. There is a block of 28,800 acres on the south of the Hokianga River, of medium quality, but a good deal broken; it contains some very superior land, but only in small patches, whilst some of it is very sterile, but it is a fair sample of New Zealand land—one-third good, one-third medium, and one-third sterile—one half is open land, and the other half bush; a cart-road has been made through this block. I found the land in many places covered with a white powder, indicative of land of medium quality. Access to the river is at Herd's Point, where ships of 1,000 tons can anchor, and where the Waima, the Waihoa, the Manganuka, and the Ohranaia Rivers all fall into the Hokianga River and thence into Hokianga Harbour, which I notice to be well buoyed. Turning south from Hokianga Harbour, and on to Manukanui Bluff, is a very large block, high and precipitous, estimated at 220,000 acres, nearly all of rich volcanic soil. The Bluff rises 1,800 feet to 2,000 feet above the sea; and on the summit I found an open plateau of 20,000 acres, occupying the middle, almost free from timber, the other parts of the block being covered with timber. There are some valleys in this part, very good—as the upper portion of Kaihu, Waimamaku, Opouteke. Access to the plateau is from Waimamaku, along the spurs, a little to the south of that river. There is a vast amount of Kawri bush land and Kawri gum land in this locality. My guide told me at Hokianga that we must provide there a good store of provisions, there being no church, no hotel, and no Bank of New Zealand in the locality. He did provide the store, and I paid for it; but he put the articles into a wallet across his horse, and by some means allowed them to trickle out, and in the evening came to me with a long face, stating, "I am sorry to say I have lost the provisions." "What are we to do?" said I. "The Maories have always plenty of potatoes and pork," was his reply, "we will turn in among them." Pork, of all things, I cannot eat; but there was no help. Potatoes or nothing, and I faced the potatoes; but the Maories, when they found that I could not eat their pork, cooked their fatted fowl. The next morning, when I

asked what was to pay, they would not accept of a farthing ; and I wish to speak well of them because I experienced attention from them at Hokianga, the Thames, Cambridge, Rotorua, Te Puke, and other places ; and equal hospitality never would be found in England among rich or poor. There is an immense tract of land open for settlement on the west coast of the North Island, comprising about 265,000 acres, bounded on the west by the sea, on the east by the Waikato River, on the north by a bend in the river, and on the south by Whaingaroa Harbour and the Ngatitainu tribe of natives. The Government placed maps in my hands, and directed the surveyor who had surveyed the land to guide and advise me on my journey over it. The Government land comprises 175,000 acres, and extends west from the river to the watershed. From the watershed to the sea comprises 90,000 acres, and is held by natives. The locality is well watered, and small steamers and boats enter from the river into the heart of the country. The Opuati River falls into the Waikato at Churchill. The Awaroa falls into Lake Whangape, and thence into the river, the Wahi falls into Lake Wahi and thence into the river, and the Waipa falls into the Waikato at New Castle, where the railway crosses the river, connecting Auckland : it was not complete when I was in the Colony. A seam of coal is found in this locality, 23 ft. thick, and rising on both sides of the river to a height of 180 ft. ; hence the coal is dug out on the surface and thrown into boats, at little expense. Immense beds of freestone, limestone, fine clay, and red and white ochre exist here, each of which I have seen, felt, and handled, so that I do not speak from report. The banks of the river are composed of low river deposit, extending from a quarter to half a mile, beyond which there is a considerable belt of swamp, all of which, however, is above the level of the river and readily drained. The land west of the Wahi and Warngape lakes is poor, but limestone is abundant and ready for application to it for improvement. There are, however, immense tracts of good land extending west towards the watershed and north towards the Waikato heads ; it is moderately undulating, and a fair portion ploughable, but the timber is only sufficient to supply the first wants of a settlement. I travelled all down the west coast, and then struck off into the Waikato. There is an immense amount of open land about Cambridge, where I was entertained by Mr. Maclean at Bridgewater, Mr. Firth at Stanford, and by Mr. Buckland at Hinuera. When in the Thames Valley, I bought 50,000 acres of land at 10s. per acre from the Government. The natives, however, complained that the Government had not paid them for it ; and

the Government gave me £3,500 to relieve it of the difficulty, my expense having been £2,900. The natives said, "We don't object to you having the land; but we want the money." And they were right; and it would not suit me to fight them or the Government. The land in the Bay of Plenty is good; that of the hot springs at Rotomahana and Lake Taupo is poor, and much of it would be dear at a gift up to the very entrance to Napier; but beyond Napier, through the Seventy-mile Bush to Marton and Wanganui, I found the land very fertile. The Manchester block is in this district, and owes much to the personal exertions of Mr. Halcombe. I found what was a wilderness a few years ago alive with railways, tramways, and saw-mills, houses, churches, chapels, and stores of all kinds, in which I could purchase many English articles at home prices; and he was setting the settlers a good example by building a handsome and commodious house for himself. From Marton I went to Wellington; thence to Picton, Nelson, Christchurch, Oamaru, Timaru, and Dunedin, and the extreme south. The country was in a blaze of golden harvest; and, from all I experienced, New Zealand is a very desirable place in which to settle. Were I a young man, I should prefer it to any Colony I know—and I have been in all of them: Canada is too cold; Australia too dry. In America a man ceases to be an Englishman; and in India the white man can never work so cheaply, or live on as little, as the Hindu; and the same may be said of the Cape. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of DENBIGH: I appear not as an old settler, but as one who has been for several years actively engaged in the Colonial emigration, and associated from the first with the Duke of Manchester in the colonisation of this Manchester block. I am proud to think that the principal town takes its name from my brother, who went to mark out the land. Mr. Halcombe's interesting lecture bears upon it the marks of a candid and honest mind. There is not one exaggeration, I feel sure, from beginning to end. On the contrary, he has understated things for fear of being thought to speak too highly of what he had in his mind. I feel sure, from what he has said this evening, which will be made known by the press, many Englishmen will be induced to go there for the sake of the advantages it offers in place of their comparative want at home. In the midland counties, with clay soils, the farms have been thrown up by the dozen through want of draining, and the farmers are wandering about, with money in their pockets, such as have it, wondering where to employ it profitably. When they read Mr. Halcombe's words of this evening on the

advantages New Zealand offers to them, some of them will be tempted to go over, turn their money to advantage, and make fresh and vigorous settlers in this new land. It is painful to see so many young men of education and birth, in all the vigour of health, wandering about the country and asking for something to do, and in some cases for bread to put into their mouths. Scarcely a week passes when I do not hear of some young man willing and anxious to do something, but does not know what to do. I would ask Mr. Halcombe what is the class of young men who ought to be invited to go. Of course loafers are of no good whatever. In the Manchester block we are offering advantages similar to those Mr. Halcombe has spoken of to New Zealand men, with a little capital, who are willing to settle. I would ask, with what small amount of capital may a young man start with, with a fair chance of doing profitably? It is a practical question; and I should not like to leave the room without having it answered, so that the answer may go throughout the country, and relieve the minds of many who are anxious to do something. Whilst thanking Mr. Halcombe for his interesting lecture, he will forgive me for saying, one has only to look in his face (as I heard some one remark when Mr. Halcombe came into the room) to see what a good climate it is. Here is a man, exposed to all sorts of out-door work, looking as if coming from the lap of luxury, with a fine, fresh, smiling countenance, which it does one good to look at; and I am sure it will be a temptation to others to go out. (Cheers, and Hear, hear.)

Mr. GEORGE DIBLEY: Of course we are all deeply impressed by the excellent lecture we have heard this evening in reference to the capabilities of New Zealand, and also as to the prosperity of working, honest men who are willing to go out. It struck me, in the course of the lecture, that the advantages spoken of are not generally known in our agricultural districts as well as in the more populated centres. You will find in the railway offices of the United States (and I think there is also in the Poultry, in a window) specimens of corn and other products from the States, and statements which incite any person who reads them with a desire of going out. If this plan were repeated throughout England more people would go to our Colonies. It is important that we should remain reciprocal with other nations, but we should consider ourselves as a compact whole. I would take this opportunity of suggesting to the Council, and also to Sir Julius Vogel, the desirability of making fully known in the agricultural and manufacturing centres of this country the great advantages New Zealand offers to those who wish to emigrate. As we all know,

the numbers of persons who have emigrated from Liverpool during the last three months have been enormously in excess of any three months on record. The greater part of those have gone to the Western part of America. I attribute this to a want of knowledge among the people of the advantages of our own Colonies, where the emigrants would meet with people with sympathies like their own. I hope representatives of the Colonies in this country will see the wisdom of acting on that suggestion. There is another point. Notwithstanding the success portrayed of New Zealand in relation to its statistics, and the wealth of the people going out there, the dying out of the Maories through the gin, brandy, and rum bottle was not a congratulatory part of the subject. I remember attending a meeting of this Institute when Sir A. Gordon read a most instructive paper relative to his government of the South Sea Islands. He had taken upon himself a great amount of trouble, visiting and going up the country and about the islands, raising the natives, not only to posts of dignity, but rendering them capable of managing their own affairs, and administering their laws in a municipal form. How did he do this? For one thing, he set about stopping the production of those vampires who delude the natives by giving them drink. He prohibited its introduction, and enforced heavy penalties. Surely, while we are deriving benefits from a new country, we ought not in return to do that which was killing the natives that originally populated the country, but should endeavour by every means to keep away vice from them, and to try in the future to raise them to the noble position of being able to take part in their own affairs. I hope the Legislature of New Zealand in its wisdom will find a means of prohibiting traffic of this description, which decimates those who indulge in it, and causes them to become a drag upon the community instead of contributing to its prosperity. I hope the Government will be able to adopt measures to protect the natives from a class of vampires who go amongst aboriginal races and decimate them by obtaining from them their produce in exchange for that which is worse than nothing, because it is their poison. (Cheers.)

Mr. BEAUMONT: I should be sorry to see this discussion languish, and therefore, though I had not any intention to speak on this occasion, I will take the opportunity of saying a few words upon a matter which has a special connection with New Zealand. A Colony holds itself out as especially adapted for colonisation by emigrants from England with respect to a matter which seems to me to be often left out of sight. People often talk as if the wonder was

that everyone who desires to ensure prosperity did not flock to the Colonies, and they seem to lose sight very much of the obstacles and difficulties which deter even those whom it might really benefit from emigration. It is, after all, a very great undertaking, and a great wrench of feeling. So that many who might well go as a matter of preference and judgment, only do so under the pressure of necessity, and when that occurs they are far too discouraged to exercise a free judgment, but they fall into the stream, and go to the cheapest and nearest place; and so it comes, and because it is most freely open and best known, multitudes find their new homes in the United States who might be happier and do better in our own Colonies. I entirely agree that there are no places better adapted to ensure prosperity to emigrants of every class than many of our own Colonies, and that the free and wise development of emigration to them affords the grandest prospect, not only for maintaining and extending our national prosperity, but of ensuring peace and progress throughout the world. But yet you who feel as much at home on one side of the globe as on the other, must not lose sight of the difficulties in the way of the emigrant's enterprise. Above all things, those who would emigrate want information,—exact, complete, and reliable information. And so they go to the United States, not merely because it is the nearest and the easiest to reach, but because they know, or can learn, most about it. Those who are specially interested in our own Colonies and Colonial lands should also look them fairly in the face. The United States draws, and until this is done, will draw, both the mass and the pick of our emigrants, not only for the reasons I have mentioned, and by reason of the attraction of its imposing greatness, but especially because vast tracts (I might almost say the whole country is open freely) are, upon simple conditions, equally simple and equally accessible to all. Plenty of risks there are, no doubt; but there is no complication, nor occasion for risky bargains in their national system of dealing with the public lands, and this has been the cause of the amazing progress of our American cousins. Of course plenty of people will make mistakes wherever they go. A man may now, as heretofore, be misled as to the Eden to which he goes, and may fail grievously. But it is an immense inducement for a man to know that though he may fall into error as to his vocation, or as to his locality, yet go where he may, if he is man enough to settle down upon the land, he can do so just where he pleases, and on what scale he pleases. There is, as I may say, no nonsense about it. Whether he is fascinated by the attractions of Minnesota or of many other States quite as promising, he knows that absolutely at

his own selection he may choose and acquire for himself, either for nothing or for a sum quite insignificant, Government land good enough and accessible enough and plenty enough to satisfy not only his wants but his desires ; or, if his means allow it, but yet at a moderate sum, he may acquire even the pick of the railway lands ; and so feels satisfied that he can see something of what is before him, and can employ his means to the best advantages. But how is it about New Zealand and others of our Colonies ? Such a man can find no such satisfaction. I have heard and read a great deal about New Zealand ; but though all Colonial subjects interest me greatly, I have never been able to feel that I know what is open to a colonist there as I know what is open to an emigrant in the United States. I want to know, then, how are ordinary emigrants to obtain the requisite insight to guide them ? They simply know nothing about it, except that it is very far off. Then it is discouraging to find our New Zealand friends so very particular. If we inquire about their system, we find that they will, indeed, accept or even help such and such classes—nice young women, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, farmers with some capital, and so on ; but they have nothing to hold out to the people at large. And they must not only pick their people, but they want to pick them with capital. I am bound to say that they are pretty candid, though, in this, discouraging. They frankly enough say that the artisans they solicit must only look for good wages, a bounty they can very well command at home. A man with £100 is only to expect to do a small thing. With £500 he may become a modest farmer. But to do well it is desirable that he should have £5,000 or so. But the cry is always, “ Don't send us men who have nothing.” Well, that is unfortunate ; for the people you invite are just the people who are not at all likely to go in numbers, and by no means the best emigrants when they do go ; while those you discourage are not only those who would go, but those who, I venture to say, make the best emigrants. I protest that though this may be a very pleasant way of selecting one's company, it is not the way to make a people. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that our people flock to the United States rather than to our own Colonies. I much wish this could be altered. God forbid that I should say a word to encourage the emigration of persons not fit to emigrate, whether they be capitalists or others, including the loafing clerks whom we often have referred to so contemptuously, by those who maintain the select system of so-called Colonisation ; though for my part I believe—and I believe that many of our own Colonies, as well as the United States, will abundantly show—that no class has pro-

duced more valuable colonists in every way of life than emigrant clerks. For my part, I don't believe in any particular grade or class of men being useful emigrants. Whether a man be a capitalist, a farmer, a clerk, or a labourer, he may be a useful or a useless emigrant. But I am quite sure of this, that, for emigration, a good man is worth a heap of money; and the country that secures the largest number of good men will secure also the largest influx of capital, as well as the greatest extension of wealth. But I would repeat, before I sit down, that even the fittest men to emigrate would not be wise in doing so unless they can obtain good information as to what is before them. I remember one of the fittest men I ever knew for even the rough work of a Canadian settler, gentleman farmer capitalist, too, in a small way, though driven by loss of capital to emigrate, well able to work, and working with his own hands, who died of actual privation in the Canadian winter, because he had been so unfortunate as to settle himself upon a heavy timber farm, which it was hopeless for him to persist in his attempt to clear. And many and many a man besides Martin Chuzzlewit, and far stronger and better men than he, have failed far more grievously than he because they have embarked on such an enterprise without sufficient means of information. I was reading not long ago a capital pamphlet, excellently printed and got up, with respect to Minnesota, full of every imaginable detail of information about the place—not only general descriptions and statistics, but precise local knowledge, exact prices of every kind, details of numerous instances of almost every line and grade of enterprise, not in vague general terms, but with particulars of information of Mr. A., who, with such a capital, formed such a firm, in such a mode, and with such a result. Mr. B. (or Mrs. B., for they don't despise either clerks or women there), who came in such a year, with so much, and opened such a store, and had so many fowls and cows, and made year by year, so much in such and such ways—information which made the place and its ways and people plain to the mind. I wondered when I should ever see such means of information made so available about our own Colonies. I am much too old, and other people are much too wise, to take for gospel all that is written. But for all that, people will look for information, and must have it. They will know what to take and what to leave very often; but, at all events, they will not, and they should not, go blindfold to work about such a venture as emigration. I believe that there are multitudes of people throughout England who not only would prefer to go out to our own Colonies, but who would not think of emigrating unless they did so. But they want to look before they leap; and they cannot



see their way to emigrate, simply because they cannot obtain such reliable, complete, and exact information as should serve to guide their action. Feeling so earnestly as I do the importance of unification to our country, England and her Colonies, I would take this opportunity of urging on our Colonial friends that much remains to be done in the way I have been speaking of to encourage emigration. (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. STAFFORD: If I might be permitted to add a word, I would say that the last gentleman who has addressed the meeting has confirmed me in the opinion I expressed when I had the honour of addressing you before this evening; when I wished I had not been called upon immediately after Mr. Halcombe, because the gentleman who has last addressed you is evidently not aware of the facts of the case to which he referred. He says that the people of New Zealand assert (I confine myself to New Zealand) that they do not want people to go there who have no money in their pockets. I beg to say, without referring to the early colonisation by the New Zealand Company and Canterbury Association, that within the last ten years we have paid a million and a half in bringing out people who had not a shilling in their pockets; we have paid their passages at the rate of some £20 a head for adult men and women, and £12 a head for children, entirely out of our own pockets, and have not required the Government immigrants to pay for their passages; but, on the contrary, have paid the passages of those who were not able to take themselves out. If the gentleman had been aware of that, he would not have said that New Zealanders say, "Do not send us people who have got nothing;" because those very people we have been paying money to bring out. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEAUMONT rose again to speak, but was ruled out of order.

Mr. HALCOMBE, in reply, said: I cannot but feel very much complimented by the kindly reference to me which has been made by Earl Denbigh and Sir Edward Stafford. With regard to Earl Denbigh's question, as to what a young man without capital can do in the Colony, it is difficult to give a reply, so much depends upon the young man himself. Settlers now-a-days are most unwilling to take young men as to whom they know nothing into their houses; and it has unfortunately been a very prevalent custom among the English people to send young men to the Colony simply because they can do nothing with them at home. If, however, a young man is a gentleman in the true sense of the word, and is not afraid of turning his hand to any hard work, he will probably get on—at all events, he has a better chance

than in England. Presuming that such a young man has an introduction to a New Zealand settler, I should advise him frankly to state his case to his friend, and express his willingness to work for his living, even without any pay at first. If he will then honestly buckle to when he has a chance he will soon make friends for himself, who will not fail to help him when opportunity offers. In reply to Mr. Beaumont's complaint, that no sufficient information is published about the Colony, I can only refer Mr. Beaumont to the Agent-General's office; he will find himself flooded with information about every part of it. Sir Edward Stafford considers that I have very much understated the advantages which the Colony offers. I am very glad to hear that such is his opinion, for I have no desire to obtain a reputation for "blowing," and I can understand that people in England would have a difficulty in believing how great are the advantages which the Colony offers to those who avail themselves of them. I have confined my remarks to generalities, because it is impossible to reply definitely to the question so often put to a colonist, "What are we to do when we get to New Zealand, and what can we expect to be the result?" There are so many conditions surrounding the reply that it is impossible to make it definite. One person may fulfil the conditions necessary to success, another may not; and the unsuccessful man will lay his failure at my door if I attempt to lay down any detailed plan which, to my mind, would ensure success. The Colony offers ample and very rich raw material, on which capital and labour may be employed with success. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," lays down the principle that three things are essential to make a prosperous community—viz., "good land, capital, and labour." I would suggest another essential which Adam Smith omitted, viz., "means of locomotion." New Zealand has the good land, just now she has sufficient labour, she has also the means of locomotion; and all that is wanted is more capital to develop her resources. With more capital the Colony can receive more labour, but at present the balance between the two is nearly equal; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that New Zealand, or any other country, can receive a sudden and large addition to the number of the labouring classes without a corresponding influx of capital to employ them. I trust that men who have capital will not only invest it in the Colony, but come themselves and superintend its employment. I do not think any man would regret the change. It is a peculiarity of the New Zealand colonist that he becomes devotedly attached to the country he has made his home, and has no wish to leave it. And the reason is obvious. Having loved England, it is his pride and pleasure to

assimilate his New Zealand home to that in the old country, and he finds himself so thoroughly successful in doing so that the love he originally had for his English home is naturally and easily transferred to that which he has produced at the other side of the world. (Long and continued cheers.)

On the question being again put as to the amount of capital a young man should have in order to come out to New Zealand and be successful, Mr. HALCOMBE said: It is one of those questions one cannot answer at all, there are so many other conditions besides amount of capital necessary to ensure success. One man may bring £1,000, and go through it all in twelve months. Another may start with £50, and make it into £500 at the end of a year or two. All depends on the man. The amount of capital a man should bring is as much as he possibly can. (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask you, though it is a little out of order, to hear a gentleman who has just returned from New Zealand, whose letters have appeared in the public papers of the day, and who has given a great deal of information about New Zealand.

Mr. ARTHUR CLAYDEN: At this late hour of the evening, I will not presume on your good nature by inflicting on you a lecture on New Zealand. I am sure that after the lecture which we have listened to from Mr. Halcombe with so much pleasure it would be a kind of superfluity, therefore I simply avail myself of this opportunity of most heartily endorsing Mr. Halcombe's remarks. I do not know that I can take exception to a single word that he has uttered. Of course he has had a much larger experience of New Zealand than I have. I went there about two years ago, and, from what I saw, I was so favourably impressed with it as an emigration field for our farmers and our capitalists, that I placed myself in communication with the Government, and volunteered to come over here for the express purpose of giving information to such gentlemen as might desire to refer to me. As I read the reports in the papers of the great distress in England, I thought it was very desirable that English farmers and others should know what advantages New Zealand presented, and I heartily endorse the remarks which have fallen from the lecturer on that point. The advantages of New Zealand can scarcely be exaggerated, and I do hope that the result of this meeting will be that each will endeavour to proclaim them in his own small circle, and that in its wider circle the press will take the important facts which we have heard to the public, so that throughout the length and breadth of the country the advantages of New Zealand emigration may be fully known. I am sure Mr. Arch's work will be superseded, so long as there is free

access to countries where the labourer can earn his 8s. a day. When I reached Nelson the first thing I heard there was that a number of ordinary day labourers had struck for an advance of 1s. a day on 8s. for a day of eight hours. I shall never forget the revelations which it brought to my mind. Provisions being about the same price as in England, I could see that the labourers had a nice time of it, and I felt more certain of this as I went through the length and breadth of the land. It is, however, not only a labourers' paradise, but a paradise for the hard-pressed middle-class man ; and as I happen to be a middle-class man, all my connections being agricultural, I necessarily felt intensely interested on that point. I was quite sure that English farmers knew little or nothing about New Zealand, and I resolved to come home and put it before them, and I have done so. It is a great question, and I am extremely glad that, at so influential a meeting as this, my own views on this matter have been so ably enunciated. At another time I shall be happy to give fuller particulars about New Zealand.

The CHAIRMAN: It is very gratifying to the Royal Colonial Institute to find that its endeavours to bring Colonial subjects before the country are so well appreciated ; and it must be also exceedingly gratifying to those who are interested in New Zealand to find that one of the largest meetings we have ever had has been brought together by the subject of that Colony. You have had the advantage of an address from two gentlemen about New Zealand than whom it would be impossible to find any two with a more thorough knowledge of the country, a more thorough belief in its future, or a more thorough honesty of purpose in giving you the information they have done. Before I ask you to return a vote of thanks to Mr. Halcombe for the admirable lecture which he has given to us this evening, I would ask leave to make one or two remarks upon something that has been said. I was much struck with the remarks made upon the tunnel connecting Lyttelton with the Canterbury Plains, when it was stated that the tunnel was to cost £240,000, and there was an outcry that it would burden the resources of the Colony to an extent that they could never recover from, that since then they have borrowed—I am afraid to tell you how many millions ; but, in my opinion, and in the opinion of those who know the enormous undeveloped resources of the country, the outcry which is now raised against the indebtedness of New Zealand, which, it is said, is more than she can bear, is just as much justified by the circumstances as the outcry was against the outlay of £240,000 then. (Cheers.) I noticed, too, that Mr. Halcombe, in giving you an account of the successful cultivation of 1,000 acres of

and, mentioned that it would cost the men who had it £2 an acre, but that the time was rapidly passing when such admirable bargains could be made; but he went on to prove that you might give a great deal more for such land as that and still find that you had made a most admirable bargain. He informed you that, in doing this, one gentleman had in the first year by his first crop not only recouped himself for his outlay in cultivation and the prime cost of the land, but had put 80s. more into his pocket. If a man could do that in one season it would be worth a good deal, and anyone who likes to go into figures could calculate the value of the fee-simple of the land. It would be worth while to give a great deal more than £2 an acre; and thousands of acres more could be purchased in most parts of the Colony. Lord Denbigh and others have asked, and Mr. Halcombe has answered, the question as to what amount of capital a man ought to take to New Zealand. I have also been asked that a great number of times. I will answer it by one short anecdote. I myself took out two servants. They landed in New Zealand, both with wives and families; and when they landed they only had their clothes on their backs and eighteenpence in their pockets—that was the whole of their worldly goods. I also knew another man, who had £150,000 when he landed in the Colony. In result, the one who landed with eighteenpence has now an estate worth £40,000; while the gentleman who landed with £150,000 died a pauper. Anybody with brains can do well; and, of course, anybody with brains and money can do better than in England. But, if a man has neither brains nor money, he had better stay in England, where he will have the workhouse to fall back upon. It is impossible to do anything out there, or anywhere else, unless the emigrant is a man with determination, with energy, with health and muscles; but whether he has money or no money, if he is determined and has a head on his shoulders, he must in the end do well in New Zealand. Somebody, I think, said they never saw a healthy pauper. I never did in the course of my experience of the Colony; and I do not believe such a thing exists at this moment. (Laughter.) I will now ask you to return a vote of thanks to Mr. Halcombe for the admirable lecture he has so kindly given. (Long and continued cheering.)

Mr. HALCOMBE: I have to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen, for the very kind and patient hearing you have accorded me this evening. I regret that I was unable to write my address, as, with greater care and elaboration, what I have to say might have been more clearly expressed; I have, however, to express my gratitude that you have so kindly overlooked its defects. (Cheers.)

## CONVERSAZIONE.

THE Seventh Annual Conversazione of the Institute was held at the South Kensington Museum on Thursday evening, the 24th June, 1880. It was the largest gathering the Institute has yet had, the number of guests exceeding 1,400; it was also a very representative one, ladies and gentlemen being present from almost every part of the British Empire.

The guests were received at nine o'clock in the Architectural Court, which was decorated with exotics, palms, and choice flowers, by the following Members of Council: Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G., Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G., Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sir Charles Clifford, H. W. Freeland, Esq., A. R. Campbell-Johnston, Esq., Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G., J. D. Wood, Esq., J. D. Thomson, Esq., G. Molineux, Esq., Henry Blaine, Esq., Alexander Rivington, Esq., Jacob Montefiore, Esq., W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., C.M.G., S.W. Silver, Esq., Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G., F. P. Labilliere, Esq., and Frederick Young, Esq.

During the evening a well-selected programme of music was performed by Miss Alice Sydney Burvette, the Australian pianist, assisted by Mr. Augustine Cattermole and M. Victor Buziau.

The band of the Grenadier Guards, under the direction of Mr. Dan Godfrey, also performed an admirable selection of music.

In addition to the many attractions which the Museum affords, there were specially exhibited by Mr. Chevalier a large collection of paintings, illustrative of the scenery of Victoria, and also a collection of portraits in oil of celebrated Maoris, kindly lent by Mr. Cohn, of New Zealand.

Amongst the distinguished guests present were His Excellency the Chinese Minister (the Marquis Tseng) and suite, including Li-Ching-Men, Chen-Chi-Yin, T'so-Ping-Lung, Fung-Yee, Chin-Yüan-Tze, and several of the suite of the Japanese Minister, and the following:—

Major-General Sir A. Alison, K.C.B., and Lady and Miss Alison	Mr. George Armytage and lady (Victoria)
Moulvie Syud Abdur Rahman and lady	Mr. E. R. Anderson and lady (New Zealand)
Mr. Charles Allen and lady	Mr. John H. Addison and lady
Mr. W. J. Anderson and lady (Cape Colony)	Mr. J. C. Alexander and lady
Mr. C. E. Atkinson and lady (Cape Colony)	Mr. and Mrs. A' Deane (New Zealand)
Mr. Henry Attlee and lady	Mr. and Mrs. F. Armytage
	Mr. and Mrs. Akilandaiya (Madras)
	Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot

Mr. and Mrs. W. Ashwell  
 Mr., Mrs., and Miss Adams  
 Mrs. George Arber and Miss Arber  
 The Misses Arber (2)  
 Mr. H. B. Arber and Miss E. Arber  
 Miss J. J. Arber  
 Miss Adela Abbott  
 Miss Elizabeth Armitage  
 Miss Anderson  
 Miss Alexander  
 Mrs. Ashton  
 Mr. James Alexander, jun.  
 Mr. James Ashbury  
 Ahsanuddin Ahmed  
 Ibrahim Ahmed  
 Mr. Robert L. Allport  
 Mr. W. H. Atthill  
 Major Allinson

The Right Rev. Bishop Beckles and  
 Mrs. Beckles  
 Sir Henry E. L. Bulwer, K.C.M.G.,  
 and lady  
 Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,  
 Lady and Miss Barkly  
 Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., and  
 Lady and Miss Blyth  
 Sir David W. Barclay, Bart., and  
 Lady Barclay  
 Sir Thomas Gore Browne, K.C.M.G.,  
 C.B., and lady  
 Captain Burgess and lady  
 Dr. and Miss Brace  
 Mr. John Bramston and lady  
 Hon. T. B. H. Berkeley, C.M.G., and  
 lady (Antigua)  
 Mr. E. E. Blake and lady  
 Mr. E. J. Burgess and lady  
 Mr. Thomas Briggs and lady  
 Mr. W. D. Berridge and lady (Tri-  
 nidad)  
 Mr. Lennox Browne and lady  
 Mr. William Brand and lady  
 Mr. S. B. Browning and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. Stephen Bourne and lady  
 Mr. William Barton and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. Joseph Beaumont and lady  
 Mr. Henry Blaine and lady  
 Mr. J. Bruce and lady (Cape Colony)  
 Mr. W. Moore Bell and lady  
 Mr. Charles Brown and lady (Cape  
 Colony)  
 Mr. H. C. Becton and lady (British  
 Columbia)  
 Mr. Henry Brooks and lady  
 Mr. Richard Blackwood and lady  
 (Victoria)  
 Mr. G. S. Baden-Powell and lady  
 Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Burton

Mr., Mrs. and Miss Barr  
 General and Miss Breton  
 Mr. and Mrs. Harley Bacon  
 Miss Bacon and Miss Mary Bacon  
 Colonel, Mrs., and Miss Briggs  
 Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Bentley  
 Captain and Miss Barry  
 Mr. and Mrs. Mirza Peer Bukhsh  
 (India)  
 Mr. and Mrs. Bevan (Kandy)  
 Mr. and Mrs. John Banks  
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bounnois  
 Mr. and Mrs. H. Bascom  
 Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Buckley  
 Rev. William Barker and Mrs. Barker  
 Captain and Mrs. Birnie (Sydney)  
 Mr. and Miss Birkett  
 Mr. and Mrs. Bethell  
 Mr. and Mrs. John Bramwell and  
 Miss Bramwell  
 Mrs. and Miss Brand  
 Miss Janet Brand  
 Mrs. Benjamin  
 Mrs. and Miss Burne  
 Misses Braithwaite (2)  
 Miss Bradstreet  
 Mrs. Burne  
 Miss Breaknell  
 Lady Barker  
 Miss Brand  
 Miss Blaxland  
 Miss Brett  
 Mrs. Thomas Baynes (Antigua)  
 Miss Brooks  
 Miss K. Bush  
 Mrs. Bedford  
 Mrs. Butcher  
 Rev. J. Buller  
 Dr. Barker  
 Dr. Ball  
 Mr. J. Algernon Brown  
 Mr. G. M. Bell  
 Mr. J. B. Braithwait  
 Mr. C. D. Buckler  
 Mr. Edward Bench  
 Mr. E. B. Brown (New Zealand)  
 Mr. William B. Brown  
 Mr. D. G. Bell  
 Mr. S. Barrow, junr.  
 Mr. Bunch  
 Mr. A. K. Butterworth  
 Mr. Brodrick  
 Mr. F. Bickley  
 Mr. T. J. Burrell  
 Mr. Edward Bellais (Bluemantle)  
 Mr. H. Blaine  
 Mr. G. Skafte Decching

Admiral Sir Edmund Commerell,  
 K.C.B., V.C., and Lady and Miss  
 Commerell

- General Sir Arthur T Cunynghame,  
G.C.B., and the Hon. Lady Cun-  
ynghame  
Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I.,  
M.P., and Lady Campbell  
Sir Charles and Lady Clifford  
Sir John, Lady, and Miss Clara  
Penrose Cooode  
Colonel F. W. Cumberland and lady  
(Canada)  
Colonel Crossman, R.E., C.M.G.,  
and lady  
Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., and  
Mrs. Courtney  
Mr. Donald Currie, M.P., C.M.G.  
Mrs. and Miss Currie  
Mr. James Cowan, M.P.  
Mrs. and Miss Cowan  
Captain and Miss Covey  
Mr. and Miss Cracknell  
Mr. and Mrs. Coulson  
Mr. and Mrs. Carvalho  
Mr. and Mrs. White Cooper  
Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Clarke  
Mr. James and Miss Campbell  
Mr. and Mrs. James Colyer  
Colonel and Mrs. Gordon Cumming  
Mr. and Mrs. John Chumley  
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Cox  
Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Campbell  
Mr. and Mrs. Allan Campbell  
Mr. and Mrs. Campbell  
Mr. and Mrs. Campbell-Johnston  
Mr., Mrs., and Miss Carter  
Captain and Miss Chichester  
Miss A. Chichester  
Mr. and Mrs. George Clifford  
Mr. and Mrs. N. Chevalier  
Mr. Frederick A. Campbell and Miss  
S. S. Campbell  
Mr. J. C. Cooode and lady  
Mr. W. Chisholm and lady (Griqua-  
land West)  
Mr. W. F. Cooke and lady, and Miss  
Cooke  
Mr. George Campbell and lady (New  
South Wales)  
Mr. W. W. Cargill and lady (New  
Zealand)  
Mr. Arthur Clayden and lady (New  
Zealand)  
Mr. Edward Cooper and lady (New  
Zealand)  
Mr. Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., and lady  
Mr. Edward Chapman and lady (New  
South Wales)  
Mr. Finlay Campbell and lady  
Mr. Gilbert T. Carter, R.N., and Mrs.  
Carter (Gold Coast)  
Mr. E. B. Cargill and lady (New  
Zealand)  
Mr. John Cogdon and lady (Victoria)  
Mr. H. Cohn and lady (New Zealand)  
Mr. P. Bicker Caarten and lady  
Mrs. Robert Carlton  
Mrs. Calvert  
Mrs. Coote  
Mrs. Collins  
Mrs. Clayton  
Mrs. Campbell  
Miss Colley  
Miss Cassells  
Miss Cooke  
Miss Frances Clifford  
Miss Campbell  
Miss Collins  
Miss Campbell  
Surgeon-Major Cuffe, C.B.  
Mr. G. R. G. Carlyon  
Mr. R. W. Carlton  
Mr. C. Campbell-Johnston  
Mr. John Cumming  
Mr. White Cooper  
Mr. Charles T. Comb  
Mr. J. W. Curtis  
Mr. William Chisholm  
Mr. Chisholm  
Mr. Collins  
Mr. Edgar Chapman  
Mr. Clement G. Collins  
Mr. Robert Cudenhead  
Lieut.-General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,  
K.C.B., and Lady Dauteney  
Sir Thomas and Miss Dakin  
Sir William Drake, K.C.B.  
Lady and Miss Drake  
Mr. and Mrs. Thiselton Dyer  
Mr. and Mrs. J. Davis  
Mr. and Mrs. Day  
Mr. D. C. and Miss Da Costa  
Mr. F. Day and Miss Day  
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred N. Domett  
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald D. Doulton  
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Donne  
Mr. and Mrs. W. Davis  
Mr. Alfred G. Dick  
Miss Mary Dick and Miss Wilhelmina  
Dick  
Mr. A. S. Douglas and Miss Douglas  
Mr. F. E. Dampier and lady (British  
Guiana)  
Mr. George Dibley and lady  
Mr. Alex. Donaldson and lady  
(Adelaide)  
Mr. Henry A. De Colyar and lady  
Mr. Alfred Domett, C.M.G., and lady  
(New Zealand)  
Mr. Stewart Douglas and lady  
Mr. Wm. Duncan and lady  
Mr. F. H. Dangar and lady (Sydney)  
Mr. John Davidson and lady (Jamaica)  
Mr. Charles Dunkley and lady  
Mr. W. T. Deverell and lady



Mr. F. A. Du Crox and lady  
 Mr. F. H. Dutton and lady (South  
 Australia)  
 Mrs. and Miss Dove  
 Mrs. and Miss Dunsmuir  
 Miss Davis and Miss E. Davis  
 Mrs. Dearmer  
 Mrs. Davies  
 Miss Alice Drane  
 Miss Dodman  
 Miss Douglas  
 The Misses Dickenson (2)  
 Captain Hunter Davidson  
 Mr. Cecil Donovan (Sydney)  
 Mr. P. J. A. Davis  
 Mr. C. Dickson

Mrs. and Miss Eddy  
 Mr. R. P. Edden and lady  
 Captain Evans, R.N., C.B., and lady  
 Rev. D. J. East and lady (Jamaica)  
 Major D. Erskine and lady (Cape  
 Colony)  
 Mr. Frederick Evans and lady (West  
 Africa)  
 Mr. A. L. Elder and lady  
 Mr. J. A. Ewen and lady  
 Mr. G. Errington, M.P.  
 Mr. James M. Errington  
 Mr. C. R. Edwards  
 The Hon. J. Augustus Erskine  
 Mr. Charles H. Stuart Erskine  
 Mr. W. T. Evans  
 Mrs. George Eliot

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.,  
 and lady  
 The Misses Frere (Cape Colony)  
 The Hon. Dudley Fortescue and Lady  
 Camilla Fortescue  
 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Fairfax (New  
 South Wales)  
 Mr., Mrs., and Miss Forster (New  
 South Wales)  
 Colonel Lane Fox and lady  
 Mr. H. W. Freeland  
 Mr. Arthur Fell and lady  
 Mr. G. R. Fife and lady (Queensland)  
 Mr. Anthony Forster and lady (South  
 Australia)  
 Mr. John A. Fairfax (New South  
 Wales)  
 Mrs. C. J. Fairfax (New South  
 Wales)  
 Miss Amy Fairfax (New South Wales)  
 Miss Carry Fairfax (New South Wales)  
 Mr. James Farmer and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Miss Farn er  
 Miss Edith Farmer  
 Mr. James Flower and lady (Cap:  
 Colony)

Miss Eliza Flower  
 Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Feltham (Griqua-  
 land West)  
 Mr. B. A. Ferard and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. A. Focking and lady  
 Mr. A. Fass, Lady, and Miss Fass  
 (Natal)  
 Mrs. A. Fraser  
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Froet  
 Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Follett  
 Mr. Rennie Fulton and Miss Fulton  
 Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher  
 Mr., Mrs., and Miss Fuller  
 Mr. and Miss Fairbairn  
 Mr. Avory Holmes Forbes  
 Mr. W. Adams Frost  
 Mr. T. H. Faulkner  
 Miss Forrester  
 Mrs. Farquharson  
 Miss FitzGerald  
 Mr. G. S. Fryer  
 Mrs. Frank  
 Mr. Charles James Fox, jun.  
 Miss Frome  
 Miss Dora Frome  
 Mr. W. Fraser

Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G.,  
 Lady Galt, Miss Galt, and Miss  
 Kate Galt (Canada)  
 Mr. and Mrs. J. H. and Miss Great-  
 head  
 Professor Gilderslieve (U.S.A.)  
 Mr. T. Hunter Grant and lady  
 (Canada)  
 Mr. H. A. Greig and lady (Cape  
 Colony)  
 Mr. Justice Gillies and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. Donald Gollan and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. Spencer Gollan  
 Major Arthur Griffiths and lady  
 Miss Griffiths  
 Mr. B. W. Greenacre and lady (Natal)  
 Mr. R. W. H. Giddy and lady (Griqua-  
 land West)  
 Miss Giddy (Griqualand West)  
 Miss Alberta Giddy and Miss Ethel  
 Giddy  
 Mr. Archibald Gordon, C.B.  
 Mr. George Green and Mrs. Cooke  
 Miss Green  
 Nanda Lal Ghosh (India)  
 Mr. Stewart Gardner and lady  
 Mr. Arthur G. Guillemard  
 Mr. C. E. Guillemard  
 Mr. James Gilchrist and lady  
 Mr. Sydney Gilchrist  
 Mr. Ernest Gilchrist  
 Mr. George Gray and lady

Mr. S. M. Gibbs and lady  
 Miss Gibbs  
 Captain A. Hamilton Gilmore, R.N.  
 Mr. A. Hamilton Gilmore  
 Mr. G. R. Godson and lady  
 Ven. Archdeacon and Mrs. Gray  
 Mr. Mati Lal Gupta  
 Mr. C. W. Grant (Canada)  
 Mr. F. Galloway  
 Miss Gallatly  
 Mrs. Gordon  
 Miss Gibson  
 Miss Gordon  
 Mr. G. S. Grimshaw  
 Miss Gillow  
 Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard  
 Miss Girdwood  
 Miss Gordon  
 Miss Garnham  
 Miss Maude Gordon  
 Miss Gawthorp  
 Colonel and Mrs. Godfrey  
 Mr. and Mrs. John Gilchrist  
 Captain and Mrs. Dundas Gill  
 Mr. Gualter C. Griffith  
 Mrs. E. Griffith  
 Major Gordon  
 Mrs. and Miss Gordon  
 Mr. and Mrs. William A. Guesdon  
 Mr. and Mrs. G. S. Graham  
 Mr. and Mrs. Green  
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gray  
 Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Gahan  
 Mr. E. H. Gough and Miss Gough  
 Miss Goman  
 Miss Mary Goman  
 Sir John Haggerston, Bart., and Miss  
 Haggerston  
 Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.S.I., C.B.,  
 and Lady Hooker  
 The Ven. Archdeacon Hunter and lady  
 Mr. J. Hales and lady  
 Mr. Philip C. Hanbury and lady  
 Mr. Wolf Harris and lady  
 Mr. Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G., and  
 lady  
 Mr. Montague P. Hart and lady  
 (West Africa)  
 Mr. James Hora and lady (Victoria)  
 Mr. William Henty and lady  
 Mr. Arthur Hall and lady  
 Mr. T. M. Harrington and lady  
 Mr. Hastings C. Huggins and lady  
 (British Guiana)  
 Mr. A. W. L. Hemming and lady  
 Mr. E. Harris and lady  
 Mr. A. Follet-Halcombe and lady (New  
 Zealand)  
 Mr. John S. Hill and lady  
 Captain P. G. Heath and lady  
 (Queensland)

Commander R. J. Hughes and lady  
 (Cape Colony)  
 Mr. and Mrs. Caschel Hoey  
 Mr. and Mrs. Hallenstein  
 Mr. and Mrs. Heymanson  
 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Hutchinson  
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hadfield  
 Mr. A. Staveley Hill, M.P., and Mrs.  
 Hill  
 Mr. and Mrs. William Hemmant  
 (Queensland)  
 Major and Miss Hirst  
 Miss E. Hirst  
 Mr. and Mrs. John W. Harsant  
 Mr. and Mrs. Hollams  
 Mr. and Mrs. Hawksworth  
 Mr. and Mrs. Alfred G. Henriques  
 Mr. and Mrs. A. Hoffnung  
 Mr. and Mrs. S. Hoffnung (Sydney)  
 Miss Hoffnung  
 Miss Gertrude J. Hoffnung  
 Mrs. and Miss Hanson (Adelaide)  
 Mrs. Tilghman Huskisson  
 Mrs. Hunt  
 Mrs. Snowdon Henry  
 Miss C. Hope  
 Miss H. Hope  
 Miss Hoyle  
 Miss Hakewill  
 Miss Helmore  
 Miss Henetson  
 Captain Hare  
 Mr. John Hughes (China)  
 Mr. Charles Hoare (Cape Colony)  
 Mr. John Hopkins  
 Mr. W. Winstanley Hull  
 Mr. George H. Hoyle  
 Mr. James Hay  
 Mr. Howard  
 Mr. H. W. Hay  
 Mr. Gustave Hirsch  
 Mr. R. Hauser  
 Mr. Charles Harris  
 Mr. Sidney Hodges  
 Miss Ada Gwyn Hamilton  
 Miss Hamilton  
 Mr. Arthur C. Isham and lady (Ceylon)  
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## TWELFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Twelfth Annual General Meeting of the Institute was held at the Rooms, No. 15, Strand, on Wednesday, 80th June, 1880, at twelve o'clock (noon).

The Chair was taken by His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P., Chairman of Council. Among those present were the following :—

Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. ; Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G. ; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart. ; Sir Charles Clifford ; Major-General R. W. Lowry, C.B. ; Messrs. Claude H. Long, M.A. ; R. A. MacFie, J. S. O'Halloran, Murrell R. Robinson, W. W. Cargill, Hyde Clarke, Colonel Charles T. Gillmor, Messrs. W. Westgarth, H. B. T. Strangways, John Shaw, S. V. Morgan, Stephen Bourne, F. P. Labilliere, James A. Youl, C.M.G. ; W. Grain, Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G. ; C. Burney Young, T. Briggs, Edmund Trimmer, J. M. Stokes, M.D. ; Henry J. Jourdain, H. E. Montgomerie, F. E. Dampier, A. D. Murphy, John Lascelles, W. N. Waller, R. B. Ronald, John Rae, M.D., F.R.S. ; H. W. Freeland, Captain W. Parfitt, Messrs. H. A. de Colyer, J. Banks Taylor, W. Agnew Pope, E. H. G. Dalton, J. V. Irwin, Frederick Young (Hon. Sec.).

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the notice convening the meeting, which had appeared in two of the daily papers.

The CHAIRMAN then nominated Mr. Jacob Montefiore and Mr. W. W. Cargill, scrutineers of the ballot for the members of the Council to be elected at the meeting.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the last Annual Meeting, which were confirmed, and was then called upon by the Chairman to read the Annual Report, which had previously been circulated among the Fellows.

### REPORT.

In presenting their Annual Report to the Fellows, the Council feel that the Institute is now established upon a footing of steady progress, and is successfully doing the work for which it was founded ; but in saying this the Council are far from thinking that the Institute has nearly approached that full and complete development and organisation to which it is desirable it should attain. It is, among other things, most important that it should be located in premises worthy of an Institution of its recognised national character and objects, and also become a centre at which any information relating to our great Colonial Empire may be obtained.



To attain this end, however, a large accession in the number of Resident Fellows is essential.

The number of Fellows and consequent revenue is steadily progressing, as is evidenced by the fact that during the past year 77 Resident and 149 Non-Resident Fellows have been elected, making a total of 226, being 11 more than the large total elected during the previous year. The present number of Fellows of the Institute is 1,131—viz., 528 Resident and 603 Non-Resident.

Notwithstanding the increase of revenue derived from the influx of new members, the Council have not yet felt justified in recommending the very considerable additional expenditure which would be required to place the Institute in better rooms than are at present occupied. It has been felt that all entrance fees and moneys paid for commutation ought to be capitalised, and as up to a recent period the cost of working the Institute in an efficient manner has prevented this from being regularly done, the Council considered that all sums received under those heads should be devoted to this purpose. It will be seen by the accounts that the sum of £600 has been invested in this way during the past year, making a total of £2,100.

The Institute has sustained the loss by death of 14 Fellows since the date of the last Annual Report, among whom may be specially mentioned the Right Hon. Sir Stephen Cave, G.C.B., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, and Mr. John Paterson, M.L.A., of Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, whose melancholy fate will evoke deep sympathy.

The interest of the papers and discussions at the ordinary monthly meeting has been successfully maintained during the past session. The attendances at the meetings show a decided increase, a gratifying proof that popular sympathy is being more and more evinced in the objects and proceedings of the Institute.

The following is a list of the Papers which have been read at the Ordinary General Meetings, which, it will be observed, as usual, comprise subjects identified with some one or other of the principal portions of our great Colonial Empire :

1. Extended Colonisation, a Necessity for the Mother Country. By Stephen Bourne, Esq.

2. The Past, Present, and Future Trade of the Cape Colonies with Central Africa. By Dr. Emil Holub.

3. The National Development of Canada. By J. G. Bourinot, Esq.

4. An Empire's Parliament. By A. Staveley Hill, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

5. South Australia: her Laws relating to the Alienation of

Agricultural Land, and her recent Industrial Progress. By Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia.

6. Jamaica, Now and Fifteen Years Since. By Sir Anthony Musgrave, K.C.M.G., Governor of Jamaica.

7. The Botanical Enterprise of the Empire. By W. T. Thiselton Dyer, Esq., Assistant-Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew.

8. New Zealand. By Arthur F. Halcombe, Esq.

Valuable additions to the library have continued to be made by the Colonial and other Governments, and by various public bodies and private individuals; among the more important contributions may be mentioned a copy of designs and descriptive text of the ruins in the Island of Java, called "Boro-Boudour," presented by the Netherlands Government.

The Council have voted the sum of £25 to be expended in the acquisition of works upon early Colonial history and travel.

A revised catalogue is in course of preparation for the use of the Fellows.

The Annual *Conversazione* took place at the South Kensington Museum, on Thursday, the 24th June. The guests were received by the Council. There were 1,420 present, exceeding by nearly a hundred the number who attended last year.

The attention of the Council has been drawn to the immense emigration which is taking place from this country, and to the very large proportion of it which has been directed to the United States. The fact that the Colonies are the best customers of the United Kingdom should lead all persons interested in the trade and commerce of England to induce as many as possible of the emigrants to proceed to those places, with which England has her most important, and at the same time rapidly increasing, commercial transactions. The Council trust that the advantages of the Colonies may be more prominently brought before the emigrating classes, and that this work may be aided by the commercial, shipping, and manufacturing interests, whose prosperity is so greatly dependent upon our Colonial markets.

The influence which is being acquired by the Institute is evidenced, session by session, by the number of gentlemen of various parties and opinions belonging to both the mother country and to all other parts of the empire, who are constantly joining it as Fellows. In fact, the Institute is becoming recognised as neutral ground upon which those differing as to other principles may meet in support of the policy of maintaining the unity of the empire. In connection with this subject the Council record as a gratifying fact, that at the

recent General Parliamentary Election all parties vied with each other in asserting their desire to maintain and strengthen the Colonial connection.

June, 1880.

FREDERICK YOUNG,  
Honorary Secretary.

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| Messrs. Donald Currie and Co.  | Baron Ferdinand Von Mueller, K.C.M.G., Government Botanist, Melbourne, Australia. |
| Messrs. Dalgleish and Reed, New Zealand.   | D. P. Nathan, Esq., Jamaica.  |
| Messrs. P. Davis and Sons, Natal.  | Hon. Virgile Naz, M.L.C., C.M.G., Mauritius.                                      |
| G. M. Dawson, Esq., Montreal, Canada.  | John Noble, Esq., Cape Colony.  |
| Samuel Deering, Esq.   | J. L. Ohlson, Esq.  |
| E. B. Dickson, Esq., Government Observer, New Zealand.                                       | C. J. Percival, Esq.  |
| J. Dike, Esq.  | Hon. J. H. Phillips, Esq., M.L.C., British Honduras.                              |
| W. Thielton Dyer, Esq., Assistant Director, Royal Gardens, Kew.                              | Henry Prestoe, Esq., Trinidad.  |
| J. A. Fairfax, Esq., New South Wales.  | George Robertson, Esq., Melbourne.  |
| J. Vesey Fitzgerald, Esq.  | Governor William Robinson, C.M.G. Bahamas.  |
| Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G., C.E., Canada.  | T. Routledge, Esq.  |
| H. W. Freeland, Esq.   | H. C. Russell, Esq., Government Astronomer, New South Wales.                      |
| The Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. | S. Savona, Esq., Malta.   |
| E. Eathorne Gill, Esq.   | Dr. R. Schomburgk, Adelaide, South Australia.                                     |
| Edwin Gilpin, Esq., Nova Scotia.   | S. W. Silver, Esq.  |
| F. R. Godfrey, Esq.  | Edward Stanford, Esq.   |
| R. Godlonton, Esq., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.  | Lieut.-Colonel T. B. Strange, R.A., Canada.                                       |
| Messrs. Gordon and Gotch, Queens-land.   | Alpheus Todd, Esq., Ottawa, Canada.   |
| H. A. Greig, Esq.  | C. Todd, Esq., C.M.G., Adelaide, South Australia.                                 |
| George D. Ham, Esq.  | Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G.  |
| Henry Hall, Esq.   | Frederick Young, Esq.   |
| E. Hepple Hall, Esq., Canada.  |   |

- The Adelaide Philosophical Society.  
 Agri-Horticultural Society of Madras.  
 Anthropological Institute.  
 Association for the Reform and Codification of the Laws of Nations.  
 Auckland Institute, New Zealand.  
 Canada Company.  
 Cape of Good Hope University.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Port Elizabeth.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Wellington.  
 Chamber of Commerce, Wolverhampton.
- The Colonial Office.  
 Council of the City of Manchester.  
 East India Association.  
 Free Public Library, Leeds.  
 Free Public Library, Sydney.  
 Free Public Library, Liverpool.  
 Free Public Library, Plymouth.  
 McGill University, Montreal.  
 Mechanics' Institute, Launceston, Tasmania.  
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow.  
 New Zealand Institute, Auckland, New Zealand.  
 Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana.  
 Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham.  
 Royal Geographical Society.  
 Royal Institute of British Architects.  
 Royal Society of New South Wales.  
 Royal Society of Tasmania.  
 Royal United Service Institution.  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.  
 Social Science Association.  
 Society of Arts.
- The Town Council of Dundee.  
 Victoria Institute.
- The Government of—  
 British Columbia.  
 British Guiana.  
 Canada.  
 The Cape of Good Hope.  
 Ceylon.  
 Jamaica.  
 Natal.  
 New South Wales.  
 The Netherlands.  
 New Zealand.  
 Queensland.  
 South Australia.
- Tasmania.  
 Victoria.  
 The Legislative Assembly of—  
 Ontario.  
 Quebec.  
 The Department of State, Washington, U.S.  
 The Agent-General for New South Wales.  
 The Agent-General for South Australia.  
 The Agent-General for Victoria.  
 The Minister of Education of Ontario, Canada.  
 The Victorian Commission at the Paris Exhibition.  
 Also File of Papers from the Proprietors of the—  
 Adelaide Illustrated News.  
 Argus and Australasian, Melbourne.  
 Barbados Globe.  
 Barbados Herald.  
 Barbados West Indian.  
 Beaufort Courier.  
 British Columbia Weekly British Colonist.  
 British Mercantile Gazette.  
 British Trade Journal.  
 Cape Times.  
 Colonies and India.  
 Darling Downs Gazette.  
 Demerara Colonist.  
 Demerara Royal Gazette.  
 Edinburgh Courant.  
 Fiji Times.  
 Fort Beaufort Advocate.  
 Friend of the Free State, Orange Free State.  
 Grahamstown Eastern Star.  
 Grenada New Era.  
 Grenada St. George's Chronicle.  
 Hobart Town Mercury.  
 Home and Colonial Mail.  
 Illawarra Mercury, N.S.W.  
 Jamaica Budget.  
 Jamaica Colonial Standard.  
 Jamaica Gleaner.  
 Kapunda Herald.  
 Malta Public Opinion.  
 Malta Times.  
 Mauritius Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette.  
 Montreal Daily Gazette.  
 Montreal Daily Witness.  
 Nassau Times.  
 Natal Colonist.  
 Natal Mercury.  
 Natal Witness.  
 Newfoundland North Star.  
 Port Denison Times.  
 Strathalbyn Southern Argus.  
 Sydney Mail.

Sydney Morning Herald.  
 Timber Trades Journal.  
 Transvaal Argus.  
 Trinidad Chronicle.

West Australian.  
 West Australian, Perth Inquirer.  
 Yass Courier.  
 &c., &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN (the Duke of Manchester) then moved the adoption of the Report.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I find by the minutes of the last general meeting that the accounts were not laid before the meeting until after the Report had been considered and discussed. There are some matters in the present Report which will require, and receive, some consideration at the hands of the Fellows present; but I would suggest that they should know what the financial position of the Institute is before the discussion on the Report takes place.

Mr. W. W. CARGILL: I beg to second the adoption of the Report; and at the same time to suggest that, in order to meet the objection urged by the honourable gentleman who last spoke, the statement of accounts be added to and form part of the Report—a practice most commonly followed in public companies.

This suggestion was agreed to.

Mr. W. C. SARGEANT, C.M.G. (Hon. Treasurer): I have great pleasure in once more bringing to the notice of the Fellows the very satisfactory state of our last year's finances. We commenced the year with a balance of £695, and although we have invested some £566, we conclude our operations for the year with a balance in hand of £756. There has been some criticism and inquiry as to our mode of expenditure, and I should like to analyse the items of expenditure as classified here. We begin first with an item of salaries; that is a fixed charge which has been approved by the Council, and therefore requires no comment. The next item is for printing; that is a matter which is ordered by the Council. Reports of meetings sent to Fellows; that, again, is a further matter over which the Executive, if I may say so, has no control. Stationery, maps, and books, which last year were £88, those are matters which I will not exclude, and perhaps they are matters which we may well inquire into. Advertising meetings cost £112; that, again, is a matter which is excluded from the Executive, as it is done by direction of the Council. Furniture cost us £46; that the Hon. Secretary will be able to explain to you. Rent of these premises; that is an item we may exclude, as a fixed amount. The amount handed over to the Hon. Secretary to meet disbursements by him, £150; he has rendered an account of that, which has been also audited. Contributions to the guests' dinner funds, £23 14s. 2d.; library funds, £15; conversazione, £914 17s.; investments,

£566 10s.; subscriptions paid in error, £19 1s.; and incidental charges, 10s. 8d. Now, all those are items for which your Treasurer has had the standing authority of the Council to disburse. They have been brought before the Finance Committee from time to time; and therefore, I think, if there is anything for you to inquire into as regards those items, it would be into their conduct for having approved those items. (Hear, hear.) That, out of a total expenditure of £2,256, amounts to £1,971; leaving, so to say, an item which may perhaps require some little investigation, £285. Those, however, are matters with respect to which the Hon. Secretary will be able to give fuller information if needed. Now, I am happy to say that our receipts have been greater, indeed they have been double that of our first year's collection. Our first year naturally was a lucrative year, because all members first joining contributed not only their subscriptions, but their entrance fees also. The first year's income was £1,124, but the following year dropped to £549; that was because we had not the same number of entrance fees. However, we went on, until this year our income has been £2,317. (Cheers.) I think it right to draw your attention to the fact that of course as the number of our Fellows increases, so does our expenditure; and whereas our first expenditure in 1868-9 came to the small sum of £208, last year it was £1,690. But, I am happy to say, we have plenty of funds to meet it. (Hear, hear.) I do not know that I need say anything more; for I think it is a matter of the highest congratulation that we should have not only invested between £500 and £600 during the year, but that at the end of it we should have left off with a larger cash balance than we commenced with. (Applause.)

Mr. MacFIE: There are, I am afraid, too few out of London in the kingdom who are members of the Institute; but (if I may say so) the very small number present to-day is due in a great degree to the entire confidence which is reposed in the management and conduct of the affairs of the Association in London. I rise chiefly to call attention to that part of the Report which speaks of emigration. There is probably not in the whole document a weightier paragraph, and no subject more urgent, nor one that more deeply concerns the welfare of this great empire. I would suggest that the Agents-General for the Colonies should remember that they have at this Institute a body which would most readily co-operate with them in preventing the further emigration of our population to parts beyond the British Empire where they become foreigners, and it may be strugglers against ourselves, while they might, by judicious

arrangement and wise statesmanship, be maintained amongst us in the Colonies as fellow-subjects, to the empire's strength and glory, and besides contribute to the consumption of British products. We lament that men in office do not realise the immense loss which is weekly being sustained in the removal from amongst ourselves to foreign places of so large a mass of the most valuable part of our population. I believe that every healthy, active, well-conducted labourer, whether you consider his consuming or his producing powers, or his State serviceableness as taxpayer and soldier, cannot be less than £1,000; yet I am told we are permitting 500 British subjects to leave these shores every day for foreign climes. (Hear, hear.) I was shown a report the other day of the emigration from Liverpool, from which it appeared that 52,000 to 53,000 British subjects, English and Irish, left there in a month for the United States. (Hear, hear.) More shame to our legislature for permitting it. (Hear, hear.) I do not say it is the fault of this Institute or the Colonies, but I say this emphatically, that it is an irreparable loss to this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. B. T. STRANGWAYS: This is the first time during the last three years that I have not been on the tether. I am not a member of the Council at the present time, and I feel myself now, like Mahomet's coffin, suspended somewhere between Heaven and another place. (Laughter.) I wish to make a few remarks, especially in reference to the question of the alterations in the management of the Institute which I believe are necessary to give effect to the recommendation in the Report. I may say first of all, that Mr. MacFie has never been an Agent-General of any of the Colonies; if he had been, he would know that it is not in some respects an enviable position, and that the agents have to be extremely careful not to exceed the instructions from time to time given to them; and if they do observe those instructions, and they go right, the Government which sends them over get all the benefit of it; but if they go wrong the Agent-General gets all the blame. (A laugh.) I do not think we are likely to get much assistance from Agents-General in carrying out this object of diverting emigration to the Colonies instead of to the United States, and especially if we act in the future as we have done in the past in respect to this question. If you take up to the present all that has been done in connection with the subject of emigration, you will find that this Institute has done nothing whatever. (Oh, oh.) Well, you take up all the papers ever read at the meetings of this Institute from the commencement of its career to the present time, and you will find that, with the exception of some half-dozen papers, none of

them were of any use whatever to any person who may contemplate emigrating to the Colonies. (No.) I say that is a fact. A paper like that of Mr. Thiselton Dyer, on "The Botanical Enterprise of the Empire," may be exceedingly interesting as a dissertation on the subject with which it deals, but it is no use to those who intend to emigrate; and if we are to encourage the emigrant classes and the working classes of this country to go to our Colonies, we must give information to those classes of a different character to that which we have been giving, and must take care that that information reaches those classes; and this, I consider, the papers read up to the present time do not do. The people who attend our meetings are generally the same each time.

Mr. YOUNG: No.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I do not say that they are all the same, because there are many different—(laughter)—but it has become the place of resort of a particular set of persons whom you will find there month after month during the session. (No, no.) I say it is so; there are a great many go there from curiosity, and many who, when once they go there, do not go again; and you find very few amongst those who attend the meetings who are in any way of the emigrating classes. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I contend, that neither by the papers we publish nor the books we circulate do we give any information whatever to the emigrating classes. Such a state of things ought to be at once seen into, because I believe there is going to be a greater emigration, and especially of the farming classes of this country, in the future, than has been the case in the past. I believe I am correct in saying that during the past year 123,000 persons emigrated from the United Kingdom, and that from 70,000 to 80,000 persons, or more, went to the United States. One of the results, out of many, of our people going to the United States, is that they become of very little financial use to either the manufacturing or the other industrial classes of this country. They become at once lost to us, as it were. (Hear, hear.) Take the case of sending 50,000 persons out to any of the Australian Colonies; you will find there that every man—I can vouch for the actual and precise figures in respect of South Australia, and I know that the other Colonies are nearly the same—every man, woman, and child of those Colonies is a purchaser from this country of the exports of this country, chiefly the produce of English soil in iron and coal and otherwise, and of the labour of the English people, to the extent of £9 a head. (Hear, hear.) Those are the figures I made out two years ago, and, although not actually borne out by the returns since then, I find the figures would work out in



respect to that Colony far better, and to a larger extent, during the last year than during the former years.

The Noble CHAIRMAN : You might put the average consumption of the United States at seven shillings per head, while in Australia it is £9 per head.

Mr. STRANGWAYS : It is in excess of £9 per head. I took all the figures against myself in order to be within the actual facts stated. Now, take an ordinary labourer, the married labourer with his wife and family (experience shows they consist of five persons on an average). If those people remain in this country they have to be fed, and they give nothing but their labour in return for it. When they are ill they want the parish doctor, and they have to be housed, and fed, and clothed, and require in old age to be provided for out of the ratepayers' pocket. If they go to the Australian Colonies they become at once consumers of English produce, English exports, to an extent of £45 in value. Now, not only is England thereby relieved of all anxiety in respect of those persons in every way, but they become consumers of English produce, and benefactors to England to the extent of £45. (Hear, hear.) The statistics show my figures to be correct, and I am sure they will bear the strictest investigation. I mention them chiefly for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that the progress of emigration referred to in the Report—and the importance of which Mr. Macfie not only has not exaggerated, but has very greatly underrated (hear, hear)—has not proceeded so satisfactorily as could have been wished. There is another class of persons who will be emigrants in the future, for whom I hope we shall have better care. We have heard a great deal about agricultural distress in this country of late, and I venture to say we shall hear more about it yet; and we shall hear it from that class of people who have failed in this country just as they have failed everywhere else, that is, of the "swell" farmers. The Americans say that "Buck farmers do not pay;" and that is perfectly true, for they are finding out in this country, as they have elsewhere, that the man who wishes to make money by the cultivation of the soil must work at the cultivation of the soil himself; for people will find here as they do elsewhere, that the profits of the cultivation of the soil will not maintain two idle gentlemen, and that "swell" tenants are a luxury which only a few wealthy noblemen will be able to afford; and all those persons who, during the recent extremely high price of farm produce prior to the last one or two years, have been making immense returns out of their farms, and have not been, as a rule, paying any extra rent for

them—they find now that those returns are falling off, and that they cannot live in the style which they have been accustomed to ; and as they will not in this country come down in their mode of living to a level below that hitherto adopted by them, but which their reduced means will compel them to do, they will have to emigrate to some other part of the world ; and I venture to think they will do so to a very great extent ; and I urge that this Institute ought to be the place at which all the emigrating and all other classes would naturally think of looking for information respecting any of the Colonies, and that the Royal Colonial Institute ought to be the place of all others for imparting that information, whereas the Institute at present is about the last place where anyone would think of looking for such information. (No, no.) I repeat, the very last place where any intending emigrant would think of looking for information ; and I can tell an intending emigrant that if he is bold enough to come here for that information, he will not be able to get any that will be of use to him. (Yes, yes.) I believe the whole system of the management of this Institute ought to be altered. I should have brought the subject to the notice of the meeting before, but I could not while still one of the Council ; I am off the Council now, and therefore I can bring the matter forward. I entirely agree with the motion for the adoption of the Report, but I propose to add to it the following words, “That it be a recommendation to the Council that a paid Secretary should be appointed.” I propose that, because I believe we shall never succeed in making this place attractive to people who wish for information about the Colonies unless there is some person always here ready and able to give them that information. I wish to have it distinctly understood in making that proposal, I make no reflection on Mr. Young. I admit fully that Mr. Young has rendered good services, and unpaid services, to this Institute ; but as this Institute grows, the larger becomes the amount of attention required to conduct its business ; and I am convinced that it has now grown to such an extent as to require the continual attendance of some permanent, paid, responsible official. Of course we cannot expect that any honorary Secretary could give that attention ; but now the whole practical conduct of the affairs of the Institute during the greater part of the day is in the hands of two clerks entirely. There is nobody else here, and it is unreasonable that that state of things should continue. Besides that, the accounts and the books are kept in three different places. Some of them are kept by the clerks in the next room ; some by Mr. Labilliere, who now lives a long way out of town ;

and some of them are kept by Mr. Sargeaunt in another place altogether; and although Mr. Sargeaunt gives kindly his personal services gratuitously to this Institute in keeping those accounts, yet we have to pay a gratuity of £15 for the labour which is done in his office in keeping those accounts. I believe if we had a paid Secretary here we should find there would be a large influx of new members. I know, from communications which I have had with many Fellows, the feeling is that newly-arrived Fellows coming here for the first time want some person to be in this room to receive them, and make their acquaintance, and introduce them to any Fellows who should come in, and so that in process of time the Fellows who arrive here would be made personally acquainted with one another. But clerks cannot do that, and they are not expected to do it; and we cannot do it without the presence of one person here always. I believe if we adopt that course we shall have an actual reduction in many items of expenditure, or that we shall get a great deal more for our money in many cases. I was on the Finance Committee for a considerable time, and I found it was a perfect farce; the accounts were merely laid before the Finance Committee after the money was spent, and I found in some cases an explanation of them was clear, and in others certainly not clear. I found that the Finance Committee was a perfect farce, and I declined to serve upon it any longer. As to the expense, and whether this Institute can bear the expense, I would point out that we have a balance of £756, so we have ample money in hand to do it. In addition to that, we have, during this year, purchased £600 of stock, for which we paid £566; and I find that the cash balance in the bank at the present time is in excess of £1,000.

Mr. YOUNG: There is at least £860 of that balance which will in the course of a fortnight be paid out for the conversazione.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: I am putting the matter in an altogether correct light. The funds of the present financial year, in the account rendered by the Treasurer, have been charged with one conversazione; for the last year's conversazione was paid out of the present year's accounts, and we have nothing whatever to do with that, and I cannot see that we ought to charge two conversaciones in the accounts for one year. We have £1,000 and some odd shillings in the bank at the present moment; it is true there are liabilities against that on account of the conversazione, but when we meet next year we shall have paid that amount in respect to this conversazione, and we shall have in our hands the amounts, as we have now the amounts, received from the sale of

tickets for that year's conversazione, so that we do not require to consider that matter at all. Our finances stand thus: we have £1,000 in hand, and have invested, in round numbers, £600 in the purchase of funds, and we have done nothing with this large increase of income during the present year more than we did in the past year, and have done nothing more in the past year than we did in the preceding year, and this Institute is doing nothing more at the present time to spread a knowledge of the Colonies, or to promote what are called "the great objects of the Institute," than we did years ago; and we shall not do more until we have the continued presence of one officer here to attend to all the details of this Institute, which necessarily increase as the Institute grows. I am sure that every Fellow of the Institute will feel that there is no greater or better work in which this Institute can be engaged than, as Mr. MacFie has said, and as the Council has said, to endeavour to direct, to the fullest possible extent, the stream of emigrants from this country to the shores of our own possessions; for I can speak from my own experience in saying that nothing tends more to keep up the connection between the Colonies and the mother country than the constant influx of new arrivals from the mother country, and by aiding in that you will promote more than anything else can do the sentiment which is contained in the words of the flag which used to be hung up there (pointing to the wall)—"United Empire." I beg to move as an amendment, the addition to the motion of the words, "That it be a recommendation to the Council that a paid Secretary be appointed." I believe that, as far as the Council is concerned, an expression of opinion on the part of the Fellows would have a considerable weight with them.

This was seconded by Mr. Edmund Trimmer.

Mr. WESTGARTH: The important subject of emigration has been alluded to, and I will refer to another subject connected with the progress of this Institute. It may not be looked at as so important as this more general question, but it is germane to our immediate objects, and it is a far less difficult question than that which Mr. Strangways has just pointed out. I congratulate Mr. Young on the report of our progress, so much of which has been due to his own exertions. I further congratulate him on the views he expressed of that progress, that, great as that progress has been, it is not at all to that degree which should make us satisfied. I think, instead of an Institute of 1,130 members, not quite half of whom are residents in this country, there are tens of thousands who might become members of this Institute if an adequate object

were presented to them. My experience is that I have repeatedly, in my application to gentlemen suitable to be members of this Institute, and whose presence it is desirable to have, found they have refused to join because there was no adequate object to hold us together. They have asked what was the object of joining. Although there was but a moderate subscription of two guineas yearly and three guineas entry money, I have not been able to attract them by the prospect of six or twelve occasions of meeting during a session every year, and of reading and discussing papers—and excellent papers they are—and afterwards disbanding without any bond to keep us further together. They have simply shaken their heads, and said there was no adequate object to induce them to join the Institute. (Hear, hear.) Now the most obvious addition to our objects would be to give those material amenities to which we are so accustomed in our club life, and be able to assemble in some great and commodious edifice, and to tighten that bond of connection which should unite us. I recollect that some ten or twelve years ago we did enter into an arrangement with a body called the National Club, but that fell through; it was simply regarded as an ordinary club matter; there was no great idea which we might put forward on the occasion. We might have put forward, for instance, that our object in taking the club was to bring together the whole intelligence and the experience of the Colonies so far as it is available in this country; and I do not know a greater object that could be proposed as the basis of a club, and that is the idea I wish to bring forward now. From what Mr. Young and Mr. Labilliere have said, I believe the Institute is anxious to engage larger rooms and provide some of those amenities and conveniences which are connected with a club, but they are afraid it would be unsuccessful or beyond their means, because the former trial resulted so unsuccessfully. A number of colonists to whom I have spoken on this subject have agreed that such a club would be an excellent addition to our Institute. The question then is, how to proceed? I will not go into the details of how we could carry out this club project, because we may agree in the principle, but differ at present in details. I believe that with such a club in prospect our members could be counted by tens of thousands, if we got access to the names and addresses of the many suitable persons and put the attractive and grand objects of this Institute before them. The first step is to appoint a Committee of this Institute, gentlemen of standing and experience, representing as nearly as possible all parts of the empire. We have them already in the Institute. After looking over our address volume, with 500 or 600 persons in it

residing in and about London, I am sure we could make up such a Committee of twenty or thirty or more. I refer to one particular element, the retired Governors of the Colonies, gentlemen of the largest and best Colonial experience, who have now more or less leisure on their hands, and I am sure they would give that experience to a great object of this kind. If Mr. Young would give me his help we could tick off such a Committee at once; and if such a distinguished colonist and Governor as Sir Henry Barkly, who has officiated in almost every direction of our empire, would consent to accept the chair, we should have the elements to begin at once to make this grand extension. That Committee might proceed in this way: they are to draw up a circular to all banks and other companies, principal mercantile houses, and other interests connected with the Colonies, requesting them to supply from their rolls the names and addresses of all who would be deemed suitable for the Institute and its club. With this list of many thousands in hand, the Committee issue another circular explaining the objects, and inviting the parties to membership. If the meeting approves this general proposition, it may now authorise the first steps to be taken, when probably we shall have such ready responses as may enable us to see if this great plan can be reliably carried out. A very moderate subscription only should be required. We must remember that many of those we should elect are already members of other clubs, perhaps three or four others, and I think we should go upon this principle of very much reducing the subscription for persons already provided for in the club sense. Say we make it eight guineas as the full amount; where the person is already a member of another club, half of that might be sufficient; and if of more clubs than one, one-fourth subscription. All the present members might come in on the two-guinea subscription. They have already paid three guineas, and have borne for years the heat and the labour of the day. (Hear, hear.)

MR. DE COLYAR: It appears to me, with regard to the Report of the Council, that those members who have criticised it in a somewhat hostile spirit have altogether forgotten one thing referred to in it, namely, that the Institute has, as a matter of fact, made good progress during the past year. I venture to think that it is not by any means desirable that the Royal Colonial Institute should, as would appear to be the wish of some of the Fellows, be converted into an emigration office. (Hear, hear.) One gentleman has stated that when he mentioned the existence of the Colonial Institute to his friends, and suggested that they should join it, he received this reply—that there was no definite object to unite

the members of the Institute together. That such is the case I altogether deny. (Hear, hear.) I maintain, on the contrary, that there is a definite object kept steadily in view by the Colonial Institute, viz., the integrity of the empire. The Institute is, as it were, in the position of a watch-dog; and whenever it perceives that it is the intention of the Home Government to do anything which shall in any way interfere with the maintenance of that cordial relationship which ought to exist between the mother country and the Colonies, then is the moment for the Institute to take action; and I for one consider that until that moment arrives we may well spend our time, as we have hitherto done, in holding periodical meetings at which the most interesting papers are discussed, giving the greatest possible information to persons who are desirous of emigrating from this country to the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) I think it was Mr. Strangways who stated that the papers read last session were practically useless to intending emigrants. In this opinion I do not concur, and I feel bound to say as regards the paper on New Zealand, that one more useful and interesting could not have been submitted to this society. (Hear, hear.) And I think if you look over the list of papers read in the course of the session, you will find that, perhaps with the exception of paper No. 7, which I myself, however, did not hear, all of them contained information which was of interest to emigrants and others. (Hear, hear.) It was not my intention to speak at this meeting, but I felt strongly when I heard the remarks which have been made upon the annual Report; I fear, however, that it may be considered somewhat presumptuous in one who has not been long a Fellow of the Institute to express the views that I have been urging—(No, no);—but it seems to me that the whole character of the Institute is lost sight of by those who are proposing to convert it into a sort of emigrants' home. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FREELAND: I hope that it will not go forth to the public that the opinion which Mr. Strangways has expressed, that this is the last place to which parties would come for information respecting Colonial matters, has in any way the sanction of this meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: It is a fact.

Mr. FREELAND: That is a matter of opinion. The question as to whether it is a fact or not may well be tested by the manner in which my remarks on the subject have been received in this room. It has been well said that this Institute does not exist for the mere purpose of giving information to intending emigrants, and it has been well said also that this building is not to be turned into

an emigration office. I quite agree that we ought to give all the information which we can give, and I am quite sure that if a letter were addressed to Mr. Young he would give any information in his power. Mr. Strangways says that he is not a Member of the Council, but he is proposed for re-election, and I hope that he will be re-elected, for I am sure that any suggestion which he may be prepared to make for giving more information respecting the Colonies will receive attentive consideration. I hope, too, that his remarks on the paper on "*The Botanical Enterprise of the Empire*" will not go forth as indicating an opinion on the part of this meeting that the paper was not valuable as regards the Colonies. It seems to me that if it was not specifically valuable to intending emigrants, it was very valuable as diffusing information as to the vegetable products of the Colonies (Hear, hear), as to the dangers to which these vegetable products are subject from the ravages of insects, and as diffusing information as regards forestry laws and regulations as well as botanical research. I say that more useful information could hardly be offered to any of our meetings. (Cheers.) As regards the questions of a paid Secretary and better accommodation for members, those are difficult questions, and they depend to a certain extent on each other. As regards Mr. Strangway's proposal that we should have a paid Secretary, no doubt as regards all institutions a paid Secretary is, in principle, a very good thing, but we must remember this, that a paid Secretary adds very much to expense, and if we are to have a paid Secretary, instead of having sums of money to invest we shall have only a very small amount left. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Strangways thinks that it is not desirable to save and invest, and he would like us to expend a great deal more than we do.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: Hear, hear.

Mr. FREELAND: He says "Hear, hear," but let me tell him what are the objects with which our investments are made. I take a very great interest in these questions. A short time ago at the London Library we pursued the plan of investing our money, and the question of purchasing the freehold of the premises came before us, and the question whether we should endorse what the sub-committee had recommended. It was a bold step to take, but it was decided by the whole of us that we should buy the freehold. We only had a sum of between £1,000 and £2,000 in hand, but it was of great assistance to us when we had to borrow money for the purchase of our premises. We then determined to buy, and bought the freehold for a sum of over £20,000. Here we have already a sum of about £2,000 invested towards a purchase, or in aid of



rental, and as it is a question of better premises, which I confess that we should all be glad to have, and also a question of giving more scope to social and Colonial gatherings, which I should be very glad to see given, surely the steps which we are taking, and to which Mr. Strangways so strongly objects, are the very steps which will conduce to bring about the objects which he has in view. (Hear, hear.)

Captain BEDFORD PIM: I want to thank the Council for their able Report, and to congratulate the members upon the progress which the Institute is making. On one point I am particularly anxious to say a word, that is on the *raison d'être* of this Institute, viz., the unity of the empire. There is no question at present approaching in importance to the question of the unity of the empire. (Hear, hear.) I rise first for the purpose of thanking the Council, and then of urging upon them for Heaven's sake to move energetically in the direction of bringing about that unity. If you delay much longer our Colonies will have none of us, and it will soon be too late; and no power will then be able to bring about the unity of the Colonies and the mother country at all. I read to-day of a defeat inflicted on the Russians on their own frontier by the Chinese; the inevitable result will be that the war will now be prosecuted with vigour by the Russians, their men-of-war will proceed to Chinese waters and blockade Chinese ports. Russia has even now a splendid harbour, or rather a constellation of harbours at Vladivostok, which is only four days' sail from Hong Kong, but still, although only for a short time in the year, it is blocked by ice, and Russia is determined to have a port further south, open all the year round. This war, therefore, with China will seriously affect British interests; we shall have for a near neighbour the most formidable, aggressive, and unscrupulous nation in the world. I ask you to reflect for a moment, and in the event of a war between England and Russia just imagine the position of the Australian Colonies; for example, if ships like the *Alabama* issued from a Chinese port, to harass our Colonies and trade, what would be the result? I know Petropaulofskoi very intimately, having surveyed it. Directly Russia acquires a vantage-ground it is fortified. I believe Vladivostok is now impregnable, and I am certain that a few vessels sailing from that port could paralyse, if not destroy our influence in the Pacific as well as China, by laying Victoria and Esquimalt, our head-quarters at Vancouver's Island, in ashes. I see the greatest possible danger arising to us in this war, the beginning of which is reported in this morning's papers. I venture to assert that any design Russia or any other country in the

world might have upon our Colonies would be stopped in a moment by the unity of the empire. We must meet strength by strength, in other words by unity, but at present the United Kingdom is the most disunited, and in point of fact the weakest of the great nations. I venture to think that if the Council of this Institute would put their shoulders to the wheel in earnest, this all-important unity could be effected; and I promise them that I will do all I can in my humble way to assist them in their efforts. In the House of Commons it really seems as if each party would unite on this all-important subject. I earnestly press upon the Council, for Heaven's sake, to put their shoulder to the wheel with all their might and energy while there is yet time; it will soon be too late to bring about this great *raison d'être* of the existence of the Royal Colonial Institute. I will do everything in my power to assist them. (Cheers.)

Mr. YOUNG: With regard to the important question brought before us of emigration, and the diffusion of information about the Colonies, I think it would surprise Mr. Strangways, as well as many members of the Council, to hear that during the last three months upwards of thirty intending emigrants have come here to seek information with regard to emigration to the Colonies, and they have further stated the best information they have received was at the Royal Colonial Institute. (Hear, hear.) In addition, I may add that many persons have been sent from the Colonial Office, in Downing-street, to this Institute for information; and during the election which has just taken place numbers of Members of Parliament, and intending candidates and their agents, came here to get information which they said they could not get anywhere else. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I think one of the objects for which the Institute was formed, the diffusion of information, is to a great extent carried out already. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: May I ask you the nature of the information applied for, and the nature of the information supplied?

Mr. YOUNG: It is of course impossible to give the details off-hand, but there would be no difficulty in doing so. It was only two or three days ago that a peer of the realm was closely closeted with me seeking information which he could not get from anywhere else. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: I should like to say a few words on this discussion, particularly as I have some knowledge of the questions propounded to-day. It appears to me that the most conclusive argument in favour of our continuing upon the lines which we have been pursuing with so much success, is furnished by the speeches of the two gentlemen who would alter our course—Mr.

Strangways and Mr. Westgarth. Whenever an Institute like this attains a certain amount of success, there are always some people who will say, If you will only take this view or that you will have something wonderful. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Strangways proposes something wonderful in the shape of an emigration agency, the details of which it would be very difficult to work out, and with respect to which he did not give us the smallest amount of insight. All he proposes is, that we are to have someone here paid a large salary—because any gentleman who could discharge the duties of a universal emigration agency for the whole British Empire, would require to have an enormous amount of knowledge in his head, and we could not expect to have a man with such qualifications, if such a man could possibly be found or invented, except at a very large salary (hear, hear); and every pound you take away from the income or the capital of this Institute will prevent you from placing it in better rooms; and that, I maintain, is one of the most important objects in order to promote the efficiency of the Institute which we have to consider in the future. (Hear, hear.) It may be very well to have this gentleman with a universal knowledge and paid £1,000 a year; but the most important thing for us to do is, in the first place, to husband our resources in order to be able to house this Institute in better quarters. (Hear, hear.) Then comes Mr. Westgarth with another idea for wonderfully improving the Institute, namely, by turning it into a club.

MR. WESTGARTH: I merely wish to carry out the Institute's own project.

MR. LABILLIERE: There may be two or three hundred clubs in London, but there can only be one Royal Colonial Institute. If you turn this into a club, if you adopt the scheme of Mr. Westgarth, you completely alter the nature of the Institute. Has Mr. Westgarth considered what would happen, when the majority of the Resident Fellows belong to London clubs—many to two or three clubs? If you asked them to pay a subscription to another club they would not do it. Then what are you to do? Are you to create a distinct class of members, paying a different rate of subscription, whose ideas and requirements would clash with those of the Fellows who support the Institute for the sake of its present objects? The alternatives proposed are to convert this Institute from the purposes which it is pursuing, either into an emigration agency or a mere social lounge, which a club would be. (Hear, hear.) These are the propositions submitted for your consideration to-day, in substitution of the successful policy hitherto followed by this Institute. With regard to carrying on the business of this

Institute, I am sorry that Mr. Strangways, in his enthusiasm for his scheme, should have been disposed to exaggerate the difficulties which exist in carrying on the Institute under its present arrangements. He referred to the fact that Mr. Young was not always able to be here, that I cannot assist him as much as could be desired, and that I have gone to live a long way out of town, which is not so; but has the Institute in any respect suffered?

Mr. STRANGWAYS: No.

Mr. LABILLIERE: The honourable gentleman has been pursuing a running commentary during the whole of my observations; and having a flow of eloquence poured into one's ear by one's neighbour, is more hindrance than help. I wish he would state publicly what he desires to say. (Laughter.)

Mr. STRANGWAYS: Mr. Labilliere put the question, Has the Institute suffered in any way from the absence of Mr. Young and Mr. Labilliere? I humbly say, No. (Laughter.)

Mr. LABILLIERE: I have had experience of the working of this Institute with Mr. Young; and I am sure there was more difficulty in the work and labour connected with this Institute four or five years ago, when Mr. Young began, before it was as completely organised as it is now. (Hear, hear.) Then there was some more exaggeration in which Mr. Strangways indulged; he said I was not able to come here, and that I had gone to live a great way out of town, and that was one reason for paying somebody a large salary. Well, with regard to the portion of the financial arrangements of which I have had charge, the fact that I have gone to live a short, and not a great way out of town, has not in the least interfered with this, or anything else I have to do in London. In looking after these financial matters I have never been in the habit of dealing with them every day, but have found that they can be much better attended to upon one certain day in the week. I shall be happy, in conjunction with Mr. Young, to continue to do what I can for the Institute, and to save it the outlay which would be incurred by the adoption of the proposal of Mr. Strangways. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE: What decision has the Council come to with regard to the question of a paid Secretary and as to a club?

The Duke of MANCHESTER: With regard to a paid Secretary it is moved as an addition to the Report, and as an instruction to the Council.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE: Has it ever been brought forward by the Council, and explained by them on a previous occasion?

Mr. Young: Perhaps I had better explain that, as His Grace was

not here at the Council meeting, the subject was considered, and a long discussion took place upon it; and I believe I am correct in saying that Mr. Strangways withdrew the motion.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: There was no discussion whatever on the proposal. I proposed to insert a paragraph in the Report in accordance with the memorandum which I have handed to your Grace. Mr. Molyneux pointed out to me that if the Council thought fit to deal with such a question as that, they could do so, and that he himself should object to a paragraph being in the Report bearing upon the subject; and when I found that it had been objected to, not on its merits, but in that form, I did not bring it forward.

Mr. LABILLIERE: It was brought forward on a previous occasion.

Mr. STRANGWAYS: The motion I brought forward, a long time ago, was for an assistant Secretary.

Mr. FREELAND: I believe Mr. Young is in attendance here almost always twice a day.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: I think the attendance book will show that. It is not quite as someone has said, that people come here and do not get any information. I know that in my absence Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Boosey, who are now both so thoroughly up in Colonial matters, are most glad and anxious at all times to give all the information in their power to anyone requiring it; and I know they often give very valuable information, and they give it for me when I am not here; and I appeal to those colonists who come here from time to time whether that is not the case. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE: I do not rise to support either of the propositions brought before us, but to point out that, so much success having attended our operations hitherto, we cannot do better than proceed on the same lines for some time to come. I do not undervalue the importance attached by Mr. Strangways to having a place from whence information can be diffused, but I think the best way to do that is to get larger premises, and to increase our library: thus a large portion of work can be maintained and expended without the interposition of a highly-paid Secretary. Mr. Young visits this place very frequently, and is always available for the purpose of giving the information which any Fellows or other persons may require. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the proposition for the establishment of a club, I cannot think it of so great advantage, and we have other things to do besides coming together to eat and drink, and exchange the amenities of life. (Hear, hear.) I think emigration is the most important question of the day, one

which will occupy the attention of the Legislature and the country for years to come. (Hear, hear.) We have to look not only to the means of affording information on emigration for those intending to go out, but I venture to think that a far more important question is coming upon us—the necessity for the disposal of our surplus population, and enlarging the borders of our empire by including the present waste lands which are available for that purpose. It is clear in the history of all past nations that the greatest incentive to emigration has not been the attraction presented by the Colonies themselves, but the necessity to many for going away from their own country. (Hear, hear.) We know the origin of the Western States of America was due not so much to the emigration of those who desired to leave home suddenly, but it was the necessity, real or fancied, of the case, which caused a large portion of our people to go and seek a freer and wider home in the West than they could find in their own country. (Hear, hear.) What is it that brings the coolies to emigrate from the East to our Colonies? It is simply because a portion of their population at home find it difficult to support themselves there. The same reason is bringing pressure upon us. It is true that since I brought the question of an extended colonisation before the meeting at the opening of this session things have a little advanced, and there has been a revival of trade which has been dealt with as showing that the views entertained as to the necessity of finding an outlet for our surplus population were not sound. But we find now that the revival of trade which did take place has proved to a great extent a spurt simply; I believe it had its origin very much in the bad harvest of last year, but that with the prospects we have before us of a plentiful harvest this year, with the present rain and sunshine with which we are favoured, I am inclined to think that instead of there being a much less pressure, there will be a much greater one. The increased trade of last year was greatly dependent on the bad harvest, which obliged us to buy our food from abroad; whilst the persons from whom we bought our food were content to take our articles in exchange. If now we should be able to supply our own population at home, it will no doubt materially add to the prosperity of the community as a whole, but I do not think it will especially tend to that of the manufacturer. The markets opened to us last year are pretty well stocked, and with the promised ample growth at home and abroad, probably food will become a drug with them. If they are unable to sell their food, they will not be able to buy our manufactured articles, and I think it may become a question whether it will be our agricultural or our trading population that

will have to do most to supply the deficiencies that have arisen at home. It is a beautiful thought, that when Providence denied to us last year the sunshine which we need for ripening the fruits of the earth, we were able to gather up the stores of the sun's heat, collected ages back in our coal pits, and thus to bring forth that which is an equivalent in food, because it enabled us to buy. Where is there a grander sphere in which we can operate, than that of adding to our increased comfort at home and promoting industry abroad? (Hear, hear.) Whilst it is to be remembered that one function of this Institute is to give information on emigration questions, I think the more pressing obligation remains of diffusing knowledge amongst our capitalists, our statesmen, our philosophers at home, in order to show them the necessity which exists here that they should avail themselves of the openings we have in our possessions abroad. Until this is done, so that the conviction is thoroughly established, we shall not get rid of the poverty and the destitution and the suffering which unhappily disgrace our country. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. DENNISTOUN WOOD: Three matters have been discussed. The first is the adoption of better means for diffusing information with regard to the resources of the Colonies, in order that emigration may be directed to them rather than to the United States. Mr. Strangways seems to undervalue the importance of those papers which have been read from time to time. (Hear, hear.) He says that the persons who attend these meetings have chiefly been old colonists, who have no intention of returning to the Colonies; but he forgets that every newspaper published in London takes notice of these meetings—(Hear, hear)—and thus the substance of the papers read at these meetings is communicated to the public. It may be that the working classes do not receive the information first hand, but indirectly they do; for people in a position to influence the working classes give the result of these papers as published in the daily journals, and inform those of the working classes who are likely to emigrate with whom they are brought into immediate contact. The next matter referred to was the establishment of a club. I think, without going the length of establishing a club in connection with this Institute, we might consider hereafter, when we are located in more suitable premises, the possibility of having a refreshment room, to which those who come to the rooms of the Institute to read and write might repair. Nobody would call the South Kensington Museum or the Royal Academy clubs, yet at both those institutions it has been found that the people, while they resort there to satisfy their eyes and

their curiosity, like at some period of the day to adjourn for a short time to the refreshment rooms which are in the buildings. (Hear, hear.) I hope we shall ere long be able to establish something of that sort. (Hear, hear.) The third point was that of the appointment of a paid Secretary. I trust we shall before long have a paid Secretary. I do not undervalue in the smallest degree the services of Mr. Young; on the contrary, I am amazed that he should be able to give so much of his valuable time to the service of this body. (Hear, hear.) I am sure we are all deeply indebted to him. But where it seems to me that a paid Secretary would be useful is this: it is a fact that Mr. Young cannot be always here. A colonist comes into this Institute, and he finds no one to whom he can put a question, or who will introduce him to anyone, and perhaps goes away after a few minutes and never comes back again. But if there were a paid Secretary here from ten to five every day, he could address himself to him and point out everything to him; and in this way he might become an *habitué* of the rooms of the Institute, and would use his influence with his fellow-colonists to lead them to become members of this Institute. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD: I am sorry to find that Mr. Dennistoun Wood takes the same mistaken view as Mr. Strangways on the question of our having a paid Secretary. You must remember that we are not an emigration society. (Hear, hear.) Every important Colony has its own paid agent and offices, where all the details of its business is conducted. If we take upon ourselves even to appear to interfere with their duties the agents would call us over the coals, and say the work was not within our province. (Hear, hear.) Our chief object is to encourage a united empire—(Cheers)—to receive Colonists from all parts of it, to encourage an interchange of opinions, and to extend a knowledge of each and all the Colonies without particularly appearing to give too much attention to any one. My experience of these rooms is, that anyone who comes to them receives good and reliable information, and generally all that he requires. In any case the clerks will obtain it for him. We have two most excellent paid clerks—(Hear, hear)—hardly sufficiently paid, I think, for the conspicuous and able manner in which they do their work. (Hear, hear.) If we had a paid Secretary we should not be able to afford to pay that amount which would get the men we want to conduct the interests of this Society through the difficult phases which it often has to encounter. By not having a paid Secretary we get two Honorary Secretaries, who give us a sufficient quantity of their time for all needful purposes, and give that time and work in a manner that we could not obtain by any



payment that we could afford to give. The Secretary that we could afford to pay would not be the man of intellect or position that we require to have at the head of this Institution. Therefore, I think, we could not do better than avail ourselves of the kind of assistance that we are now getting. (Hear, hear.) I trust the Fellows will agree with me in this, and thankfully accept the services of Mr. Frederick Young and Mr. Labilliere. (Cheers.)

SIR ALEXANDER GALT : I venture, although it is perhaps an intrusion, this being the first time I have had the honour of meeting the Fellows of this Institute, to say a few words ; the subject is one of such interest to Canada, which I have the honour to represent, that I am sure you will forgive me. With regard to the special propositions before the meeting, I would not presume to express an opinion upon them ; the members are better able than I to deal with those questions. I would like, however, to say that there could be but one opinion with regard to the Institute, as it has been conducted up to the present time, and I am sure the Colonies must feel themselves under a deep debt of gratitude to our noble Chairman, and Mr. Young and Mr. Labilliere, for the kind manner in which they have promoted the work of this Institute. (Cheers.) I have listened with great attention to the remarks that fell from Mr. Stephen Bourne on the paragraph referred to in the Report with respect to emigration, and to which attention was drawn by Mr. MacFie. I do not feel that it is possible to exaggerate the importance of emigration both to this country and to the Colonies ; at the same time, my opinion runs with that of those who do not believe that this Institute could be profitably employed in directing emigration. (Hear, hear.) I think, however, it can be of important service by bringing pressure to bear upon the Government and the Legislature of this country, so as to ensure a change in that policy which for the last fifty years has governed this question. (Hear, hear.) It is a singular thing, that the only interest the Government appears to feel in an emigrant is to see that he is put on board ship with a medical officer. That, I think, is a great mistake, for it is looking at the emigrant as solely belonging to the United Kingdom while he remains a resident there, instead of regarding him as belonging to the whole empire at large. (Hear, hear.) I think it is of the utmost importance that the emigrant should be regarded as constantly a citizen of the empire. I believe it is the interest of the inhabitants of England, as it is of the Colonies to which he may go, so to regard him. Therefore, I think that this association, comprehending as it does men of great influence in Parliament and out of it, and many

members of the present and past Government, should constantly employ their influence in pressing upon the Government that they should direct the emigrant to their own possessions rather than to the United States or any other foreign country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. A. MacFIE: I am sorry Captain Bedford Pim has gone away, for among others present, I would thank him for calling attention to the subject of the unity of the empire. After an informal conference in the rooms of this Institute a day or two ago, it was resolved that there should be another conference next Monday, at four o'clock, at which the subject should be taken up. I doubt whether any previous speaker intended to convert this Institute into an emigration office, but only to bring the strength of the Institute to bear on the Government. This is a subject which, when I had the honour of being in Parliament, I paid some attention to. I think I am not wrong when I state that we had a set of Emigration Commissioners who did little, but their office is closed; the subject of emigration is committed to another department. Nothing is done now: proof of that is what we have heard from one or two speakers to-day, that the best possible information to be got is from here, which some speakers have just said is nothing at all. Therefore we should arouse the Council to act upon the principle of the following resolution:—"That the Council is requested to take into consideration the important and urgent question whether the present State arrangements affecting emigration are such as ought to be satisfactory, and thereafter, if they or any sub-committee they may appoint shall think fit, to solicit an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject." If your Grace will bring this matter before the Council I will not think of troubling you with moving it.

The Duke of MANCHESTER: Yes, it can be put before the Council.

The motion for a paid Secretary was then put to the meeting, and rejected by 2 for, and 80 against it, and the Report was adopted.

Sir HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.: I think before we separate we have one duty left, which is to give a vote of thanks to our Chairman for his services, not only on this, but on many other occasions. (Applause.) I do not know whether I am in order in referring to another subject, but I think perhaps it may be mentioned; it is that His Grace, who takes such great interest in the British Colonies, is about to pay a visit during the recess to Australia, and I am quite sure that this visit will be duly appreciated by the colonists, and be productive of great good to the Institute. (Hear, hear.) The prominent part His Grace has always taken on behalf

of the Colonies in connection with the Royal Colonial Institute has, I believe, been of the greatest value, and has obtained for us a large amount of support from classes with whom we might not otherwise have come into communication; and the manner in which His Grace has discharged his duties on this and all other occasions merits the warmest thanks of the members and fellows of the Institute. (Cheers.)

This was seconded by Mr. W. W. CARGILL, and carried unanimously amidst cheers.

The Duke of MANCHESTER: I have again to thank you very sincerely for expressing your thanks for any services I have been able to render to the Institute, and the whole of the British Empire through that Institute. Sir Henry Barkly is quite right in saying that I entertain warm feelings of interest for the Colonies, and I am glad to hear that I have been able to contribute in a small way towards the consolidation and extension of the empire. Sir Henry Barkly is also correct in stating that it is my intention to visit the Australian Colonies in the recess. I look forward to that with immense interest, and I am convinced from all I have heard from the colonists there now, and others who are here from those Colonies, that I shall be most hospitably received. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the matter which has been under discussion to-day, I think I am bound to say that my opinion is that this Institute has been very well and very successfully managed hitherto, and that, of course, people may have differences of opinion as to what object we should chiefly have in view at any particular time. My own idea is, that we ought to continue as hitherto in accumulating funds, in the first place to provide for ourselves better accommodation. (Hear, hear.) When we have sufficient accommodation it will be then for us to consider what further to do with our available funds. (Hear, hear.) No doubt we might give information about the Colonies to persons who are possibly contemplating emigration, and advocate the interests of our Colonies in preference to those of the United States, but I do not think that we could act as an emigration home, or try to find emigrants for any one particular colony. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the club, I think Mr. Dennistoun Wood's suggestion was the best, that when we have arrived at the millennium to which we look forward as to arrangements for lodgment, that then we might be able to provide some means of refreshment for the members there. (Hear, hear.) But I think that to turn this Institute into a club would not be desirable, and would tend to thwart the objects which we have hitherto, I think, successfully

followed, and in a great measure attained, that is, the increased consideration of the Colonies by all parties ; and nothing was more remarkable in the last General Election than the unanimity which all candidates expressed for the sentiment which we have been inculcating for years, that is, the consolidation of the empire. I am much obliged to Sir Henry Barkly and yourselves for the way you met his proposal. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. BURNET YOUNG : I beg to propose a vote of thanks to our Secretary and the other honorary officers of the Institute, and I need not say a word as to the amount of indebtedness we are under to them for their exertions.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE : I beg to second that most cordially, not only to our Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, but I think also Mr. Labilliere should be included in that vote of thanks. I know that his services have been of the greatest use to the Institute. (Hear, hear.) Without referring to the Treasurer, may I ask, when the resolution was passed, whether it included the adoption of the financial statement also ?

The Duke of MANCHESTER : Yes.

The above resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG : I heartily and cordially thank you for the honour you have paid me on this occasion. Although this is not by any means the first time you have passed a similar complimentary resolution to me, it is no less appreciated on that account. I assure you, without wishing to blow my own trumpet, there is no doubt I do devote a great deal of my time to the business of this Institute ; and I am delighted to find that my exertions have been appreciated by you, and are considered to be so successful in doing the work into which I throw myself. The question of emigration is one I have warmly thought of for years past, and I think so much of its importance that I agree with Mr. Strangways in his views on this subject, and shall be anxious to co-operate in any way to encourage a proper mode of promoting emigration from this country. With regard to the club, I am sorry I differ from Mr. Westgarth, as I am always anxious to work with him in every way I can. I am a very social individual myself, and I like the idea of social reunions of every kind and description ; but I think it would be quite foreign to the objects of this Institute to attempt to turn it into a club. (Hear, hear.) I think the proper course is to adopt what His Grace says, so that when we some day get into more suitable premises we may arrange to have an annexe which will meet all the requirements demanded by a club. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the paid Secretaryship, of course I should

like to have a paid Secretary at my back, and to have someone else always here during my absence. I must be vain enough to say that if I could be here all day long I should be able to fulfil the object already shadowed out by those who have addressed you. But I think I have got all the details of this Institute at my finger-ends, and if I am here for an hour or two in the morning, and again in the afternoon, I can always give all the information sought from me by anyone seeking it, and transact all the current business of the Institute. (Hear, hear.) My humble services are at your disposal—(Cheers)—at all events for another year, and I do not believe it is desirable for us to dig too deep or to look too far forward. I think we may go on for at least some time longer as we have already done. Once more I cordially thank you.

Mr. SARGEANT and Mr. LABILLIERE briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks.

The CHAIRMAN then announced that the following noblemen and gentlemen had been elected as the governing body of the Institute for the ensuing year :—

#### PRESIDENT.

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, K.G., G.C.M.G., &c.

#### CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL.

His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.  
 His Grace the Duke of Manchester, K.P.  
 His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T.  
 His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, G.C.S.I.  
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.  
 The Right. Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B.  
 The Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G.  
 The Right Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G.  
 The Right Hon. Viscount Bury, K.C.M.G.  
 The Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.  
 The Right Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., G.C.B., M.P.  
 The Right Hon. Viscount Cranbrook, G.C.S.I.  
 The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.  
 Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.  
 The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, K.P.  
 The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G.  
 The Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, M.P.

**MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.**

Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
Henry Blaine, Esq.	Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
Sir Charles Clifford.	Dr. John Rae.
General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney,	Alexander Rivington, Esq.
K.C.B.	S. W. Silver, Esq.
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Arthur Hodgson, Esq., C.M.G.	J. Duncan Thomson, Esq.
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Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.	James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.
Gisborne Molineux, Esq.	

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James Searight, Esq.		

**HON. TREASURER.**

W. C. Sargeant, Esq., C.M.G.

**HON. SECRETARY.**

Frederick Young, Esq.

FOR THE YEAR COMMENCING 12TH JUNE, 1879, AND ENDING 11TH JUNE, 1880.

[illegible]

## SECRETARY FIELD.

Victorian Government 5 per cent. Debentures	£500
Canada	100
"    "	300
Cape of Good Hope $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	300
"    "	500
South Australian 4 per cent.	400
"    "	200
New South Wales $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	100
"    "	
Queensland 4 per cent.	
"    "	
New Zealand 5 per cent. Consols	
	£2,100

21st June, 1880.

Examined and found correct,  
**G. MOLINEUX,**  
**W. WESTGARTN.**

W. C. SARGEANT,  
*Honorary Treasurer,*  
*June 12, 1880.*

### ANALYSIS OF THE HONORARY SECRETARY'S DISBURSEMENTS FROM 12TH JUNE, 1879, TO 11TH JUNE, 1880.

RECEIPTS.		CLASSIFICATION. PARTICULARS OF DISBURSEMENTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance as per last account.....	17 6 6	(1) Domestic { Housekeeper for care of Rooms and Cleaning; Fuel, Towels, &c.	41 4 6
Cash received from Honorary Treasurer to meet Dis- bursements.....	150 0 0	(2) Furniture and { Furniture for Rooms, and Repairs, Books {	4 14 4
Refund of charges on case from British Columbia...	2 4 7	(3) Postages ....	64 9 7
		(4) Miscellaneous. { Postages, &c. .... Expenses of Meetings, &c.....	41 10 4
		Balance in hand .....	141 18 9
			27 12 4
			<u>£169 11 1</u>
			<u>£169 11 1</u>
Examined and found correct,			
G. MOLINEUX, } Auditors.		FREDERICK YOUNG,	
W. WESTGARTH, }		Honorary Secretary,	
15, Strand, June 21, 1880.		June 12, 1880.	

15, Strand, June 21, 1880.



## PRESENTATION OF AN ADDRESS TO THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.

At a Meeting of the Council of the Institute held on Tuesday, the 18th July, JAMES A. YOUL, Esq., C.M.G., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved to present an Address to the Duke of MANCHESTER, Chairman of the Council, on the occasion of his approaching departure on a visit to Australia and New Zealand.

His GRACE having appointed Saturday the 17th July, at 12 o'clock, to receive the Address, the following members of the Council attended at 1, Great Stanhope-street, at the hour named :—

James A. Youl, Esq., C.M.G.  
 Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.  
 Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 Sir Robert R. Torrens, K.C.M.G.  
 Sir George MacLeay, K.C.M.G.  
 Henry Blaine, Esq.  
 H. W. Freeland, Esq.  
 F. P. Labilliere, Esq.  
 G. Molineux, Esq.  
 S. Montefiore, Esq.  
 Dr. John Rae.  
 William Walker, Esq.  
 Frederick Young, Esq.

Mr. YOUL, in introducing the Deputation, said : My Lord Duke, As Chairman when the Address was adopted, I have been requested by the Council to act as their spokesman on the present occasion. I feel it a very great honour to have been selected to perform this duty, inasmuch as there are so many others on the Council whose rank, position in life, and official experience would enable them to have performed it better than I can pretend to do. At the same time, I do feel the greatest possible pleasure in being permitted to address you. You have already visited Canada and the Cape Colonies, and you are now about to extend your Colonial information already gained, by a visit to the most distant of Her Majesty's possessions. There is no doubt that the interest you have always evinced with regard to the unity of the empire, and the welfare of the Colonies, will ensure you a hearty welcome in Australasia. Cordially wishing you a prosperous voyage and a safe return to your family and friends, and feeling that the Royal Colonial Institute will derive great benefit from the experience you will

have gained during your visit, I have now to request the Hon. Secretary to read the Address.

Mr. YOUNG said: Before reading the Address, I should like to mention that I have received letters of regret from several members of the Council who were unavoidably prevented from being present, including Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G., Sir Charles Clifford, Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart., Mr. Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G., Mr. H. J. Jourdain, Mr. Alexander Rivington, Mr. J. D. Thomson, Mr. S. W. Silver, and Mr. A. R. Campbell Johnston.

Mr. YOUNG then read the following Address:—

*To His Grace the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., Chairman of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute.*

MY LORD DUKE,

On the eve of your departure for your projected tour in Australia and New Zealand, the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute desire to express to your Grace their warm appreciation of the services you have so long rendered in promoting the important objects for which the Institute was founded.

We are satisfied that your visit, which we sincerely hope will be a source of much pleasure and enjoyment to yourself, will tend to maintain and increase sentiments of sympathy and goodwill between the mother-country and the Colonies.

In bidding you farewell, we shall look forward with much interest to hearing of the hearty reception which we are persuaded will be accorded to you, as one of the warmest advocates, and most zealous supporters, of the Unity of the British Empire.

Sincerely wishing you health and happiness, and assuring you how gladly we shall welcome you on your return,

We are, My Lord Duke,

Yours most faithfully,

(On behalf of the Council)

FREDERICK YOUNG,

13th July, 1880.

*Hon. Secretary.*

The Duke of MANCHESTER in reply said: It has given me very great pleasure that the Council have selected so old a colonist as yourself, Mr. Youl, to represent them on the present occasion; particularly, as you were one of the founders of the Royal Colonial Institute. It is too, perhaps, more appropriate that you should have been chosen rather than anyone who has held high official position in connection with the Colonies. I assure you, it has given me very great pleasure to receive this Address from the Council, which was quite unexpected. I anticipate that my visit to the Australasian Colonies will afford me very great gratification. In bidding you all farewell, I thank you very cordially for the good wishes you have expressed.

The Deputation then withdrew.

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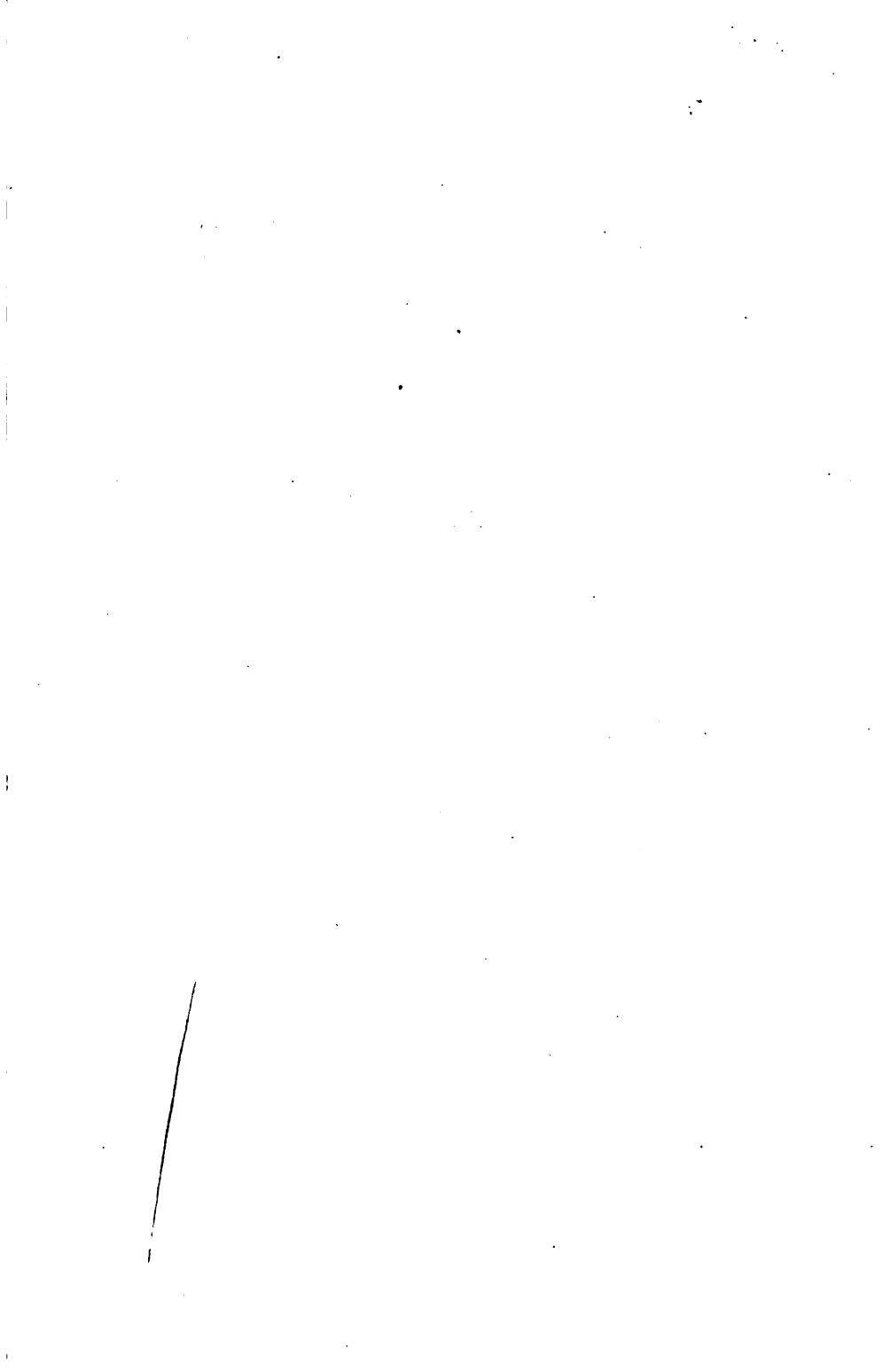
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